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January 8, 1926







JOAN OF ARC  
MAID OF FRANCE

VOLUME II



JOAN THE SAINT. *By d'Epinay*  
CATHEDRAL OF REIMS

P2  
V.2

# JOAN OF ARC

*Maid of France*

By

ALBERT BIGELOW PAINE

ILLUSTRATED



*Volume Two*

NEW YORK

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# CONTENTS

## VOLUME II

### PART SEVEN — JOAN'S LAST CAMPAIGNS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE RETURN TO THE LOIRE . . . . .	3
II. ST. PIERRE LE MOUTIER. FAGGOTS AND BRUSH, ETC. . . . .	7
III. JOAN AND HER FAMILY ENNOBLED. WEARISOME DAYS AT COURT. TOURS DECLINES TO GRANT A REQUEST FROM THE MAID . . . . .	16
IV. TWO LETTERS TO REIMS. JOAN TAKES LEAVE OF COURT AND KING . . . . .	21
V. MEMORIES BELOW THE LOIRE . . . . .	26
VI. A ROBBER NAMED FRANQUET D'ARRAS. A MIRACLE AT LAGNY. THE WARNING THAT CAME AT MELUN . . . . .	29
VII. PONT L'ÉVÊQUE AND SOISSONS. "I WILL GO TO MY GOOD FRIENDS AT COMPIÈGNE" . . . . .	36
VIII. JOAN'S LAST BATTLE, ETC. . . . .	41
IX. COMPIÈGNE REMEMBERS . . . . .	46

### PART EIGHT — CAPTIVITY

I. GUILLAUME DE FLAVY. A GREATER PRIZE THAN FIVE HUNDRED MEN . . . . .	51
II. BEAULIEU. NEVER A GLEAM OF ARMORER, ETC. . . . .	60
III. THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS NEGOTIATES FOR JOAN . . . . .	63
IV. "I WOULD RATHER DIE THAN BE IN ENGLISH HANDS." A LEAP FOR FREEDOM . . . . .	69
V. THE BLEAK WAY TO CROTOY. DEVOUT AND FURTIVE CHURCHMEN. THE MAID'S JOURNEY. ROUEN . . . . .	73
VI. THE WAY THAT LEADS TO ROUEN . . . . .	80

## PART NINE — ROUEN

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE BEAU PROCÈS. JOAN'S GUARDS, MEN OF THE MOST VILLANOUS SORT . . . . .	87
II. PIERRE CAUCHON, BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS, ARRAYS HIS FORCES. SIXTY AGAINST ONE . . . . .	94
III. JOAN BEFORE THE JUDGES. "THERE MAY BE THINGS YOU WILL ASK ME THAT I MUST NOT TELL YOU" . . . . .	100
IV. THE SECOND DAY, FEBRUARY 22. THE STORY OF THE VOICES . . . . .	108
V. THE THIRD DAY. THE INCIDENT OF NICOLAS DE HOUPPEVILLE. "DO YOU KNOW THAT YOU ARE IN A STATE OF GRACE?" . . . . .	115
VI. FEBRUARY 27, THE FOURTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. I SAW THEM WITH THE EYES OF MY BODY, AS WELL AS I SEE YOU, YOURSELF" . . . . .	127
VII. MARCH 1, THE FIFTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. "BEFORE SEVEN YEARS THE ENGLISH WILL LOSE A GREATER PRIZE THAN THEY DID BEFORE ORLEANS" . . . . .	141
VIII. MARCH 3, THE SIXTH DAY. "WHETHER THEY BELIEVE IT OR NOT, STILL I AM SENT FROM GOD" . . . . .	153
IX. MARCH 10, THE SEVENTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. JOAN QUESTIONED IN PRISON. THE SIGN . . . . .	170
X. MARCH 12, EIGHTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. "THEY COME MANY TIMES AMONG CHRISTIANS WHEN THEY ARE NOT SEEN" . . . . .	178
XI. MARCH 13, NINTH DAY OF THE EXAMINATION. "IT PLEASED GOD THROUGH A SIMPLE MAID TO DRIVE OUT THE ADVERSARIES OF THE KING" . . . . .	184
XII. MARCH 14, TENTH DAY OF EXAMINATION . . . . .	191
XIII. MARCH 15, ELEVENTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. THE SIN OF JOAN'S CLOTHING. LIGHT FROM MANCHON ON HER REASON FOR WEARING IT . . . . .	199
XIV. THE CURIOUS AND EDIFYING STORY OF NICOLAS LOISELEUR . . . . .	208
XV. MARCH 17, TWELFTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. IT HAD BORNE THE BURDEN. IT HAD EARNED THE HONOR . . . . .	212
XVI. THE "SEVENTY ARTICLES" . . . . .	226



# CONTENTS

vii

CHAPTER	PAGE
XVII. A VISIT FROM THE JUDGES. JOAN SICK UNTO DEATH IN HER PRISON . . . . .	236
XVIII. THE TWELVE ARTICLES ARE DRAWN . . . . .	240
XIX. CAUCHON PAYS JOAN A VISIT OF CONSOLATION. "I CAN DO AND SAY NOTHING FURTHER; I HAVE SAID IT ALL AT MY TRIAL" . . . . .	246
XX. JOAN ADMONISHED BY THE ASSEMBLED JUDGES . . . . .	251
XXI. THE CHAMBER OF TORTURE. "TRULY, IF YOU SHOULD TEAR ME LIMB FROM LIMB AND PART MY SOUL FROM MY BODY, I WOULD NOT TELL YOU ANYTHING MORE" . . . . .	259
XXII. THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS REPORTS ON THE TWELVE ARTICLES . . . . .	263
XXIII. THE LAST ADMONITION. <i>Responsio Johanne Superba</i>	269
XXIV. THE ABJURATION. "BY MY FAITH, MESSIRE, WITH ALL DUE REVERENCE, SPEAK NOT OF MY KING" . . . . .	275
XXV. RELAPSE . . . . .	287
XXVI. THE JUDGMENT . . . . .	295
XXVII. DELIVERED . . . . .	299

## PART TEN — AFTERWARDS

I. CAUCHON'S SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT. REMORSE, AND RUMOURS OF MARVELS . . . . .	309
II. THE MISSION FULFILLED . . . . .	314
III. REHABILITATION . . . . .	318
IV. THEIR SUBSEQUENT STORY . . . . .	321
V. THE GLORY OF THE LILIES . . . . .	326
VI. WHERE THE FOOTPRINTS END . . . . .	328
APPENDIX . . . . .	333
LIST OF AUTHORITIES . . . . .	359
INDEX . . . . .	361



# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## VOLUME II

Joan the Saint, by P. d'Epinay . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>	
		PAGE
Joan of Arc, Place des Pyramides, Paris, by Frémiet	<i>Facing</i>	8
Ancient Ramparts, La Charité,		
Tower of Joan's Time, Nevers,		
Ramparts captured by Joan, St. Pierre le Moutier	<i>Facing</i>	9
Fac-simile: Joan's Letter to Riom . . . .		13
Fac-simile: Joan's letter to Reims . . . .		23
Joan at Prayer, Cathedral of Bourges, by Larrige .	<i>Facing</i>	32
Chateau at Sully,		
Charles's Chateau at Mehun-sur-Yèvre,		
Ancient gateway at Mehun . . . .	<i>Facing</i>	33
Fac-simile: Signature of Regnault de Chartres . . . .		40
Fac-simile: Signature of John of Luxemburg . . . .		59
Fac-simile: Signature of Poton de Saintrailles . . . .		72
Castle of Le Crotoy . . . . .		75
Chateau of Arc La Bataille,		
Joan's Prison, Drugy Farm,		
Old Church Near Crotoy . . . . .	<i>Facing</i>	78
Rouen, 1525, and Tower where Joan was threatened with Tor-		
ture . . . . .	<i>Facing</i>	79
Castle of Philip Augustus, where Joan was imprisoned . . . .		82
Ruins of Joan's Tower; "The Tower Near the Fields". . . .		89
Fac-simile: End of the "Beau Procès," Attestations and		
Seals . . . . .	<i>Facing</i>	118
Ancient plan of Rouen . . . . .	<i>Facing</i>	119
Fac-simile: Signature of Chief Recorder Guillaume Man-		
chon . . . . .		169
Compiègne: Statue of the Maid, by Leroux . . . .	<i>Facing</i>	172
Gate opening to the Old Bridge, Compiègne,		
Old Houses, Compiègne,		
Ancient Chateau, Crépy-en-Valois . . . .	<i>Facing</i>	173



	PAGE
Fac-simile: Signature of Recorder N. Taquel . . . . .	198
Montargis, where Joan passed by . . . . .	<i>Facing</i> 200
Joan's Prison, Beaulieu,	
So-called Tower of Joan of Arc, Beaurevoir,	
War ruins at Beaurevoir . . . . .	<i>Facing</i> 201
Fac-simile: Signature of Notary Boisguillaume . . . . .	245
Church of St. Ouen, Scene of Joan's Abjuration . . . . .	<i>Facing</i> 276
The Old Market, May 30, 1431,	
The Old Market Today . . . . .	<i>Facing</i> 277
Fac-simile: <i>Responsio Mortifera</i> . . . . .	291
France's Holy Ground . . . . .	<i>Facing</i> 304
"Slumber of the Maid" by Joy,	
House and Statue of Jacques Cœur, Bourges . . . . .	<i>Facing</i> 305

## MAPS

Compiègne and Vicinity . . . . .	42
General Map of Routes Followed by Joan of Arc . . . . .	<i>Facing</i> 353

PART SEVEN  
JOAN'S LAST CAMPAIGNS





# I

## THE RETURN TO THE LOIRE

**H**AD Charles been blessed with a grain of manhood, the spectacle of the wounded Joan laying her armour on the altar of St. Denis would have touched him.

But Charles was not so endowed. His one thought now was to be off for the Loire, where in quiet and luxury he could enjoy his new sovereignty, taking with him the Maid, who, says de Cagny: "with very great regret went in the company of the King, who left at once, as fast as he could go, pursuing his course in a manner disorderly, and without cause."

The army was dwindling rapidly; captains with their troops daily withdrew, returning to their places of command. Charles was eager to get home while there still remained an escort. Remembering the brave pageant that had left Gien a little more than two months earlier, it was a humiliating spectacle. Joan truly enough had crowned her King, but the achievement must now have seemed a hollow one.

Whatever may have happened before, Charles's army, remnant though it was, was not this time turned back by "a certain quantity of English soldiers." It crossed the Marne at Lagny, the Seine at Bray, and expected to pass the Yonne by the bridge at Sens. But the people of Sens, observing the size and condition of the army, and being of uncertain mind, closed their gates against it, and it was obliged humbly to ford the river below the town. By Courtenay and Château-

renard it came to Montargis, and so at last back to Gien, where it arrived September 21, 1429.

"And thus," concludes de Cagny, "was broken the will of the Maid, and the army of the King."

Of the details of that cheerless journey, aside from the incident at Sens, we know nothing. The army probably camped at each of the places named, but there is today no trace or tradition of their passing. Along the way are crumbling castles which could have sheltered the King and the Maid, and mossy churches where they may have paused, but the tale of these things is lost.

At Gien, according to one chronicler, the King waited several days, "believing to have accord with the Duke of Burgundy, who had sent him word that he would yield him Paris, the Sire of Charny having brought the news; also, that he [the Duke] wished to go to Paris, to speak to those who held by his party," it being inferred that he wished to turn their allegiance to Charles. The duke was in the north of France, and the journey to Paris, by Compiègne or Beauvais, without a safe-conduct, was accounted dangerous. This was really all he wanted of the complaisant Charles. The chronicle continues:

"Wherefore the King sent him safe-conduct to Paris; but when he was in Paris the Duke of Bedford and he made their alliance stronger than it had been before. And the duke by means of his safe-conduct returned through country obedient to the King to his own country of Picardy and Flanders."<sup>1</sup>

Plainly Burgundy could do what he liked with Charles,

so long as he kept La Trémouille and Regnault de Chartres subsidized. At Gien Charles found a letter from the people of Troyes, who were naturally disturbed that he should withdraw and disband his army. He answered with the empty promise that the Count of Vendôme would come to their protection. Joan also wrote, but no copy of her letter has been found. Nothing is known of its contents beyond the fact that she sent news of her wound, this much being transcribed in the ancient city records.

The remainder of Charles's army broke up. The captains, says de Cagny, went each to his frontier. Alençon returned to his wife and domain at Beaumont, the Maid abiding with the King, "sad at heart at the departure especially of the Duke of Alençon, whom she greatly loved. . . . A little time afterward Alençon assembled men to enter Normandy, toward the borders of Brittany and of Maine, and for this purpose made request of the King to send the Maid, for by means of her many would enlist in his company who would not budge if she did not take the road. Messire Regnault de Chartres, le Seigneur de La Trémouille, and le Sire de Gaucourt, who then governed the King in matters of war, would never consent to this, nor suffer again the Maid and the Duke of Alençon to be together."

This is understandable; an expedition to Normandy led by Joan and Alençon, lacking La Trémouille's subtle direction, might be altogether too successful. De Cagny adds that those who governed the King seemed now content with what had been done, and for a long time prevented him from undertaking anything

further in person. "The Maid had performed things unbelievable to those who had not seen them, and one may say would have done more, if the King and his council had well maintained and conducted themselves toward her."

Here we bid good-bye to de Cagny, whose chronicle now becomes hearsay, as neither he nor Alençon ever saw Joan again. Quicherat calls him the best instructed, the most complete and sincere of the Maid's chroniclers. He will testify now and then, but not as an eye-witness. We lose in him a valuable support.

Here, too, comes to an end that rather remarkable compilation, the "Journal of the Siege." It is not all that could be desired, but the story of Joan can hardly be told without it. The "Chronique de la Pucelle" ended with Troyes; Jean Chartier, royal chronicler, at times *mauvais écrivain*, as Quicherat styles him, but none the less an invaluable aid, and of worthy intent, goes with us now not far. The old chroniclers! Patiently they toiled over their meticulously inscribed illegible pages, preserving the past for us as well and honestly as their gifts and prejudices would permit. Inexact, credulous, biased as most of them were, how could one pick his way across the centuries without them?

## II

ST. PIERRE LE MOUTIER. "FAGGOTS AND BRUSH,  
EVERYBODY! TO MAKE A BRIDGE!"

AT Bourges, to which place Charles went soon after his arrival at Gien, Joan lodged with Margaret la Touroulde, whose husband was Receiver General of Finances. A widow of sixty-four, Margaret la Touroulde testified at the Revision, telling of the King's pitiful condition prior to Joan's coming. "In the midst of this calamity Joan arrived," she said. "It is my firm belief that she was sent by God. . . . At that time in God was our only hope."

Madame la Touroulde says that she was with the Queen at Bourges when the King came with Joan, and that the queen went to meet them as far as Selles. But Selles is far out of the way in quite another direction. She probably meant Mehun-sur-Yèvre, a few miles distant, where the King had a fine and favourite château. "When the Queen approached the King, Joan came forward to salute the Queen. She [Joan] was conducted to Bourges, and by order of Monsieur d'Albret [half brother of La Trémouille] was lodged at my house, notwithstanding my husband had told me she was to lodge in the home of a certain Jean Duchesne.

"Joan remained in our house the space of three weeks; she slept, drank, and ate there. . . . It often happened that we talked together. I said to her: 'If you are not afraid to make assaults, it is because you well know that you will not be killed.' She answered: 'I'm no more sure of that than are the other soldiers.'



"One time Joan told me how she had been examined by the clerks, and had made this reply: 'There are in the books of Our Lord more than in yours.' . . . I remember that many ladies came to my home when Joan was there. They brought Pater Nosters and other objects, to have her touch them. Joan laughed, saying: 'Touch them yourselves. They will be quite as good with your touch as with mine.'

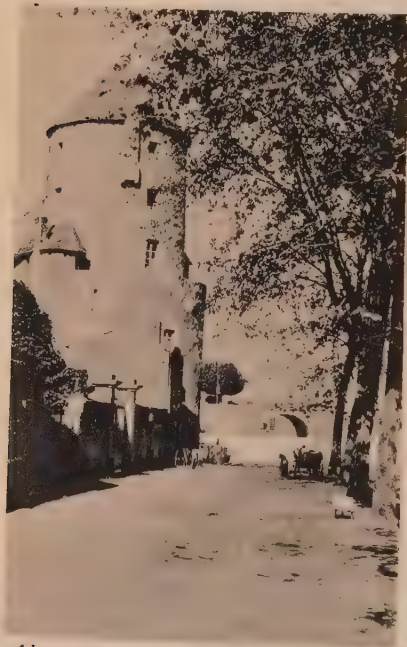
"Joan was very liberal in almsgiving, and with good will helped the poor and indigent. 'I have been sent,' she said, 'for the consolation of the needy.' . . . From what I know of her she was simple and innocent except in the matter of arms. She mounted a horse and handled a lance like the best."

There are no dates, but it must have been late in October when the Maid left Bourges for St. Pierre-le-Moutier, a small town, forty miles to the southeast, still in English hands. A day's ride to the north of St. Pierre, on the Loire, was another English stronghold. It was upon these that Charles's council had decided to let the Maid expend her military ambition.

Charles's new truce with Burgundy was to last until Christmas (it was extended until Easter) and Joan, impatient in luxurious idleness, was far from happy. Her own idea was to go back into the country adjacent to Paris and reduce that city by cutting off its supplies. Naturally La Trémouille had opposed this suggestion. There was nothing in the truce, however, covering La Charité and St. Pierre-le-Moutier; La Trémouille was willing to let Joan



JOAN OF ARC. *By Frémiet*  
PARIS, PLACE DES PYRAMIDES  
(*Établissements Levy et Neurdein, Paris*)



*Above:* ANCIENT RAMPARTS, LA CHARITE *Left:* TOWER OF JOAN'S TIME,  
AT NEVERS *Right:* REMAINS OF THE RAMPARTS CAPTURED BY JOAN OF ARC  
AT ST. PIERE-LE-MOUTIER

amuse herself reducing them, if she could. He replaced Alençon with his own half-brother, d'Albret, the Maid and d'Albret being equal in command. At Bourges they assembled an army, all too few in numbers, and none too well supplied. They marched on St. Pierre, seated their guns, and opened fire on the walls. The only account that remains of this episode is the story of the town's capture, told by Jean d'Aulon, who for the first time since Orleans here testifies :

"After the Maid and her soldiers had held the siege before the city for some time, an assault was ordered, and was made, and all did their duty. But because of the great number of soldiers being in the city, the great strength of the place, and also the great resistance made by those within, the French were constrained to retire. And at this hour he who speaks, being wounded by an arrow in the heel, in suchwise that without crutches he could neither move nor sustain himself, saw that the Maid had remained behind with very few soldiers indeed. Fearing for what might follow, he who speaks mounted a horse, and hastily riding to her, demanded of her what she was doing there alone, and why she had not retreated like the others.

"But the Maid, lifting the casque of her helmet, replied that she was not alone, and that she still had in her company fifty thousand of her people, and that she would not leave that place until she had taken the said town.<sup>1</sup>

"And he who speaks declares that whatever she might say, she had not with her more than four or five men,



and this he knew of a certainty, as did several others who likewise saw her; for which reason he told her again to go away from there, and retreat, like the others. Whereupon she told him to have men bring faggots and brush to make a bridge across the moat of the said town, in order that they could better approach it. And saying these words, cried in a loud voice:

“ ‘Faggots and brush, everybody! to make a bridge!’ ”

“The which, immediately after, was done and performed. And of this the deponent was much amazed, for incontinently the town was taken by assault, and without much resistance.”

Here we have Joan once more in her element. Had she been allowed to continue her work at Paris, supported by the King's sanction and presence, “fifty thousand of her people” might have rallied there also. D'Aulon, who here draws to the end of his story, adds that all the acts of the Maid seemed to him more miraculous than otherwise, and that it would have been impossible for a young girl to do such things without divine direction. Further he says that though she was beautiful and well-formed (*belle et bien formée*), and that frequently in changing her armour he saw her breast and limbs, neither he nor any of her company had conceived for her an evil thought.<sup>1</sup>

Joan told him, he said, that her Council advised her as to all matters concerning war. Who was this Council, he had asked her. To which she had replied that her Councillors were three: one that was always

<sup>1</sup> For other testimony as to Joan's personal appearance and physical attractions see Vol. I, pages 232-34.

with her; one that visited her and often came and went; the third being he with whom the two others deliberated.

Once he had asked her that she show him this Council. To which she answered that he was not sufficiently worthy and virtuous to see them. "Upon which the said deponent desisted from further speech and inquiry in the matter.

"And the deponent further believes, as already stated, that in view of the facts, deeds, and great performances of this Maid, that she was filled with all the good qualities that could and should be in a good Christian.

"And thus has said and deposed as above written, without love, favour, hate, or subornation whatever; but solely for the verity and fact, such things as he has seen and known in the said Maid."

So he closes. He was with the Maid to her capture, was captured with her, but he tells us no more. An honest soul and faithful, if any man of his time had been worthy to see Joan's saints, it would have been Jean d'Aulon.

The capture of St. Pierre-le-Moutier occurred during the first week of November, for by the ninth the inadequate and ill-provisioned army had moved to Moulins, to prepare for the siege of La Charité. The army was now seeking supplies, being short of everything. A letter from Joan at Moulin, addressed "To my dear and good friends, the men of the Church, burgesses, and people of the city of Riom," tells the story.



Dear and good friends: You know well how the town of St. Pierre le Moutier has been taken by assault; and with the aid of God I have the intention to clear out the other places that are contrary to the King; but because great expenditure of powder, arrows, and other materials of war has been made before the said town, and because the nobles who are in this place, and myself, are poorly provided to lay siege to La Charité, where we are presently going, I beg of you, in whatever measure you love the welfare and honour of the King and all others hereabouts, that you will give aid to the said siege by sending powder, saltpetre, sulphur, arrows, stout crossbows, and other habiliments of war. And do so well by us that the work will not drag for lack of supplies, and one cannot say that you have been negligent, or unwilling [*refusans*].

Dear and good friends, Our Lord keep you. Written at Moulins the ninth day of November.

On the address:

Jehanne.

To my dear and good friends, men of the Church, burgesses and habitants of the City of Riom.

This was one of the few letters that Joan signed. A longer letter of the same purport was written by her colleague, the Sire d'Albret. The people of Riom wrote, promising aid, but they did not send it. Possibly they decided that Charles, who now seemed able to find means for the soft living of himself and a nest of favourites, could provide something for war. Riom, a good hundred miles to the south of La Charité, was not in a war mood, though its neighbour, Clermont Ferrand, somewhat farther away, responded to similar letters with quintals of saltpetre and sulphur, bundles of arrows, adding a sword, two daggers, and a battle-axe for Joan herself.<sup>1</sup>



Orleans also helped, even if not very lavishly, with money, winter clothing for the men, some guns and gunners. Bourges, by request of Charles himself, sent thirteen hundred *écus* of silver or gold,<sup>1</sup> which unaccountably disappeared. Perhaps if the spirit of La Trémouille could be located today, the mystery might be cleared up.

About all we know of the siege of La Charité is that it failed. Jean Chartier has it that the place was commanded by one Grasset (a capable freebooter who had once captured La Trémouille and held him to ransom), and that the French lost most of their artillery. With an inadequate force, poorly provided with arms and supplies, to maintain a successful siege in winter against a strongly walled and fortified town, would be about as hopeless an undertaking as one can imagine; to capture it by assault a miracle even greater than that of St. Pierre-le-Moutier. One has only to look at its situation to realize this.

De Cagny, who though not present probably got pretty straight information, says that she had with her Marshal de Boussac and other captains, and that "when they had been there a space of time, for the reason that the King did not arrange for finance with which to provide supplies and means to maintain her company, she agreed to raise the siege, and departed with great reluctance."

It has been said that La Trémouille wished Joan to fail in this campaign, but motives for such a wish seem wanting. Successes like that of St. Pierre could hardly

fail to have weight in dealings with Burgundy. That the Court let the Maid fail at La Charité for want of resources merely indicates La Trémouille's fatal greed for funds in hand. There was not enough ready money for both La Trémouille and Joan; so the siege of La Charité failed.

### III

JOAN AND HER FAMILY ENOBLED. WEARISOME  
DAYS AT COURT. TOURS DECLINES TO GRANT  
A REQUEST FROM THE MAID

THE siege of La Charité could not have lasted many weeks, for Joan is reported as having been in Jargeau on Christmas Day, confessing to Brother Richard, who by this time had collected a kind of corps of prophetesses, among them one Pierronne, of whom little is known beyond the fact of her tragic end, and Catherine de la Rochelle, a married woman who claimed to have revelations which, if followed, would replenish the King's treasury.<sup>1</sup> Catherine told Joan that at night a "white lady," clad in cloth of gold, appeared to her, telling her to go into the good towns, preceded by heralds of the King, who would blow trumpets and demand that all who had treasure should bring it forth. Catherine would know who of them concealed their valuables.

The Maid listened, but was not impressed. She advised Catherine to return to her husband and children. To make sure, Joan consulted her Voices, who assured her that what the woman said was nonsense. Brother Richard being insistent, however, Joan arranged to spend a night with Catherine and watch for the white lady. They lay down together, and Joan, healthy and tired, finally went to sleep. Next morning, being told that the lady had appeared, she arranged to sleep that day, to be ready for the next night's vigil.



Again they watched, Joan from time to time asking if the white lady would not come. "Yes, soon." But she failed to appear, and returning to the King Joan assured him that there was "nothing to the case of this Catherine"; which did not please Brother Richard and made of Catherine a deadly enemy, Joan's only woman enemy so far as known.

The failure at La Charité seems not to have affected the Maid's standing with the King, for the same month, being then at his château at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, Charles executed a document in which he named her "dear and beloved," ennobling not only Joan but her entire family, all its members old and young, of whatever kinship or lineage. By a pen stroke Jacques d'Arc and Isabelle Romée had achieved nobility; Joan's brothers could ride on equal terms with those of lofty birth.

They took the name of du Lys, with the bearings which the previous June the King had designed for Joan's banner, the device of a sword supporting a crown, a fleur de lis on either side. It is difficult at this day to conceive the measure of their advancement. The difference in the early fifteenth century between a peasant and a noble was the difference between the humblest groundling and the eagle.

Joan herself cared little for these honours. She seems never to have made use of her bearings or title. Asked at Rouen about a shield and coat of arms, she answered that she had never had these, but that the King gave arms to her brothers. She said further that this was done by the King without her request, to give her brothers pleasure.

La Trémouille's name is signed to the grant of nobility, and the thought occurs that special marks of royal favour could have been promoted by him with some idea of mollifying the Maid at critical moments. The grant which freed Domremy from taxes was promised at Reims when the first truce with Burgundy was pending; the official sanction of it was drawn at Château-Thierry when Joan was clamouring for a move on Paris; this latest grant was made when the siege of La Charité had failed, owing to conditions properly chargeable to himself, with Joan righteously grieved and indignant. La Trémouille could be lavish with such things — they cost him nothing. That thrifty, fat soul could hardly hope to dazzle Joan with favours, yet it may have seemed worth while to try to reach her through those she loved.

The Maid was now dragged about after the Court, which was sometimes set up at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, sometimes at Bourges, and again at La Trémouille's great château at Sully. Like any normal woman, Joan probably enjoyed pleasant association and handsome costumery. A measure of Court display and luxury between victories might have been well enough, but with defeat just behind and no promise of victory before it was vain show and mockery. Worse, it was waste of her precious days, now swiftly speeding to their end.

From Tours came news of the approaching marriage of Héliote Poulvoir, whom the reader may remember as the daughter of the artist who had decorated the Maid's banner. The two girls had become friends, and Joan

recalling how Tours had given expression to deep gratitude for relief from the English menace, now wrote asking that the city make a gift of one hundred *écus* to Hauves Poulvoir, with which to buy his daughter's trousseau.

One might suppose that a request from the beloved Maid for almost any amount, whatever its purpose, would not have troubled Tours, but it did. The elect of the city pondered long upon the matter, and finally, after some preamble, declared that "nothing of the said sum would be given or paid," for the reason that the funds of the city were to be employed in reparations of the said city, and not otherwise.

"But for the love and honour of the said Maid, the men of the Church, burgesses, and inhabitants will do honour to the said girl at her wedding, which will be next Thursday, and will invite for her in the name of the city; and to make invitation to notable men of the city is ordered Michau Hardoin, notary of the said city. And to the girl will be given some bread and wine on her wedding-day; that is to say, bread from a *septier* of wheat, and four *jalayes* of wine."

In other words they were providing bread and wine for the young lady's wedding, and inviting themselves there to eat and drink it up. The measurements set down are very ancient, but the bill of expense for these items shows that the four *jalayes* of wine cost the city forty *sous*, while the sum of fifty *sous* was spent for bread. It is certain that money had a vastly greater purchasing power in that day, and ninety cents was not as insignificant as it sounds. A recent writer, a

cleric of Tours, defends the city's thriftiness on the grounds that the times were again becoming uncertain and there was need to repair the city walls; but as the same author in another place tells us that prior to the Maid's coming Tours had paid tribute to enemy bandits of seven hundred and fifty gold crowns to keep six leagues or more from the city, his apology loses force.<sup>1</sup> On the whole the incident is a sad one, indicating, as it does, Joan's waning prestige.

This was not yet manifest at Orleans. The records of that city show that on January 19, 1430, the very day on which the city fathers of Tours decided to pay nothing toward the trousseau of Héliote Poulvoir, Joan and her brothers were being entertained at Orleans, along with Maître Jean de Velly, Maître Jean Rabateau (Joan's host at Poitiers), and my Lord of Mortmar, doubtless in celebration of the patent of nobility which the King had executed three days before.<sup>2</sup>

It was a good deal of an affair. The note of expense to the city includes six capons, nine partridges, thirteen rabbits, and a pheasant, with fifty-two pints of wine. Happily the record mentions that these items provided for two repasts, so perhaps the company exercised due restraint.<sup>3</sup>

## IV

### TWO LETTERS TO REIMS. JOAN TAKES LEAVE OF COURT AND KING. FOOTPRINTS AND MEMORIES

TOURS was not entirely without reason for apprehension, nor Orleans, for that matter. The affairs of northern France were going very badly. Jean Chartier writes :

“In this time there began on all sides great pillaging and robbery, in the country which the King had newly wrested from the English, at little cost ; for without striking a blow the people had come from all parts to offer submission. And these countries were rich, and well peopled and well cultivated. Nevertheless, soon after, the labourers were driven out, and many towns oppressed and impoverished, so much so that several districts remained uninhabited and without cultivation. And everyone wished to do what he liked without regard to right.”

The people, misled, had reason enough to repent changing their allegiance. Word of these things travelled to Charles's court, and according to Chartier he sent de Boussac with a small force, to help Vendôme, left behind to maintain some semblance of government. Chartier says there was great necessity for such relief, “for the English who held Normandy and other parts of France ravaged one side and the Duke of Burgundy the other.”

Joan's anxiety and grief at these reports may be imagined. There were some small bits of good news :



La Hire was fighting in Normandy ; also, Alençon and Richemont ; they had met with modest successes. But for the most part the news was bad. Devastation was again upon the land. The Maid's work was going to wreck, while she herself was being trailed about with an idle and dissolute court. Near the middle of March she received a letter from the burgesses of Reims, setting forth their situation. Still loyal, they expressed fear of attack and siege. Joan, now at Sully, replied :

Very dear and well-beloved, whom I so much desire to see : I, Joan the Maid, have received your letters, making mention that you fear a siege. Know then that you will not have it, if I can meet them [the enemy] soon. And if it happen that I should not meet them, they would not get to you if you close your gates [*ne eux venissent devant vous, si vous fermés vous pourtes*] for I shall be with you soon ; and if they are there I will make them put on their spurs in such haste that they will not know where to find them, and their time will be short, for this will be soon.<sup>1</sup>

I do not write you other things for the present, except that you remain always good and loyal. I pray to God to hold you in His keeping.

Written at Sully, the sixteenth day of March.

I would send you some further news whereof you would be most joyous ; but I fear the letter might be captured on the road, and that the news would be seen.

Jehanne.

On the address :

To my dear and good friends, men of the Church, burgesses, and other inhabitants of the city of Reims.

What the good news was, that Joan could not tell, is not certain. There was a great conspiracy then hatching in Paris, to deliver the capital from English

JOAN'S LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF REIMS, MARCH 16, 1430  
(Original owned by Count de Malayssie; facsimile from Wallon)

*Je vous prie et ben amez et ben saluez a tous Jehanne la puelle— cy, Item tous cesus fuist mancoy que tous cesus d'opius  
d'auw e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour,  
(ne eue l'empereur d'auw) si p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour,  
sp'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour,  
pour le p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour,  
de crava // Je tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour,  
ne fuist p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour, si e- p'p'g- l'ill'g' d'auw que tous muez pour,*

Jehanne

*Text.*: Tres chiers et bien aimes et bien desiries a veoir, Jehanne la Pucelle ay reçu vous lettres faisant mancion que vous dopties d'avoir le sciege. Vulhes savoir que vous n'ares point, si je les puis rencontrer bien bref; et si ainsi fut que je ne les rencontrasse ne eux venissent devant vous si vous fermes vous pourtes car je serey bien brief vers vous; et ci eux y sont je leur ferey chausier leurs esperons si a aste quil ne saront par ho les prandre, et leur cil y est si brief que ce sera bientost. Autre chouse ne vous esery pour le present, mes que soyez toutjors bon et loyal. Je pry a Dieu que vous ait en sa garde. Escrit a Sully le XVI<sup>e</sup> jour de mars. Je vous mandesse anquores nouvelles de quoy vous series bien joyeux mais je doubt que les lettres ne feussent prises en chemin et que lon ne vit les dittes nouvelles.

Jehanne.

hands. It could have been this, though it seems unlikely that it should have been known in Charles's Court. This plot came to nothing. Within a week from the date of Joan's letter it was discovered and the leaders executed.

Joan's letter indicates that she was urging the King to give her men and let her hasten to the rescue of the northern towns. The truce with Burgundy, extended until Easter (April 23), was, however, still in force, at least so far as Charles and La Trémouille were concerned — the fact being that neither of them, though for different reasons, wished to fight Burgundy at all. To La Trémouille he was a source of income, while Charles still fatuously regarded him as a prospective ally against the English. The Maid heard again from Reims, and on March 28 replied :

Very dear and good friends : May it please you to know that I have received your letters, which make mention of how it has been reported to the King that within the good city of Reims there is much evil. If you wish to know, it has, in fact, been reported that there were many who were in an alliance, and who wished to betray the city and admit the Burgundians.<sup>1</sup> And now that the King has learned the contrary, because of the certainty that you have sent him, he is greatly pleased with you, and you may be assured that you are in his grace ; and if you have need he would succour you, in case of siege. He well knows that you suffer most through the hardships caused you by these traitor Burgundian adversaries ; and will deliver you from them, by the grace of God, soon ; that is to say, the very soonest that he can. For which reason I pray you, and request you, very dear friends, that you guard faithfully the said good city of the King, and keep good watch. You will soon hear my

good news more fully. I do not write of other things at present, except that all Brittany is French, and the duke is required to send to the King three thousand combatants, paid for two months. I commend you to God, who keep you in His care.

Written at Sully XXVIIIth of March.

On the address :

To my very dear and good friends, men of the Church, aldermen, burgesses, and inhabitants and masters of the good city of Reims.

This is the last we have of Joan's letters, probably the last that she ever sent.<sup>1</sup> Her "good news" must, after all, have been that she was about to take the field again, for a very few days later, with a little band of followers, she had left the Loire forever behind her, and was on her way to strike the enemy as best she might in the brief time now left to her. Her "year" was more than up. She could no longer waste a single day.

## V

### MEMORIES BELOW THE LOIRE

OF Joan's final activities below the Loire some memories and landmarks still survive. At La Charité, for instance, there is a considerable remnant of the ramparts she failed to conquer. They are stout battlements that even in their picturesque ruin safely protect a fine vineyard from invasion. Observing their height and deep solidity, and from a corner tower looking down upon the broad sweep of the Loire, an effective defence and an avenue of supplies not easy to close, one is impressed with the thought that in a day when cannons were few, feeble, and short of range, the reduction of La Charité was a problem for a numerous and well-equipped army. Joan's fifty thousand soldiers of the sky might perhaps have accomplished it in a moment; but for a shivering, underfed material army the task was hopeless enough.

The defences of St. Pierre le Moutier, to judge from present appearances, were somewhat less formidable. The town is near, but not on, the Allier; the single crumbling tower that remains suggests that its battlements were of more temporary construction. Yet with Joan's resources, whether of earth or sky, her victory there was an astonishing one, remembered by a fine statue of her in the public square.

Joan was at Moulins, but we know nothing of her stay, beyond the fact that she dated from there her letter to Riom. Fifty miles to the southwest is the



ancient château of Veauce, which holds a tradition that she once came there. If she did, she must have been on the way to Riom, and of such a journey nothing is known. Nevers, in the other direction, she would pass through on the way to La Charité, and would surely pause at the beautiful church of St. Cyr, where, at the entrance of the choir, are two statues: St. Michael to the left, the Maid on the right, the most conspicuous objects in the place. One likewise must not forget that the ancient church in La Charité has a fine statue of Joan, even though she failed there.

It was from La Trémouille's château at Sully that Joan took her final leave of the Loire, and portions of the great pile still standing must have been familiar to her during those sad and tedious days of unwilling residence. It is one of the few occupied castles, and though much has been added with the centuries, a number of the earlier towers are still reflected in the river and the moat, precisely as they were when Joan rode away. One of their cheerless rooms she could have occupied, and from one of their narrow windows looked out upon a land that was then, and today remains, a part of the "garden of France."

Fifty miles to the southward, at Mehun-surYèvre is also a château that Joan knew, though now no more than a beautiful fragment. One tower and part of another is all that is left of the royal residence where Charles conferred upon the Maid and her humble family whatever grace and prerogative come of ceremonial nobility. In an open square is a statue of the Maid, holding her banner and a sword; but of more

interest is an ancient and massive gateway, through which often she must have passed.

A few miles to the eastward, at Bourges, is the great cathedral of St. Etienne, one of the finest in France, with thirteenth-century windows of almost miraculous beauty. Inside and out it remains very much as Joan saw it, and today she is expressed there by a remarkable statue, by Jean Larrige, awarded, 1904, the *Grand Prix de Rome*. The Maid is standing, her hands clasped, her eyes lifted. She wears a helmet and a long military cape; the face is one of great spirituality. It is Joan as she might have looked when she rode away from Sully, knowing, as she must have known, that the end was closing in.

## VI

### A ROBBER NAMED FRANQUET D'ARRAS. A MIR- ACLE AT LAGNY. THE WARNING AT MELUN

OF the Maid's departure from Sully nothing is known with certainty. De Cagny, who could only have had it by hearsay, says :

"In the year 1430, on the — day of March,<sup>1</sup> the King being at Sully on the Loire, the Maid who had seen and heard all the plans and proposals for the recovery of his dominion, and being ill-content with them, found a way by which she might depart from among them ; and without the knowledge of the King, or taking leave of him, made semblance of going on some diversion, and did not return, but went to the town of Lagny on the Marne, because those of that place made good war on the English of Paris and elsewhere."

Most historians have accepted de Cagny's version, on the strength of which Joan's departure has come to be known as the "Flight from Sully." The picture of Joan, unable to endure further paltering and delay, riding away with a small but loyal following, makes a deep and dramatic appeal. It may have happened so, but it savours of the legendary, something required by the imagination rather than of life's realities. It is too much the thing that the gallant de Cagny, hearing of her departure, would wish, and believe, that she had done.

It is more likely that La Trémouille and the King, to whom Joan had become as a prodding conscience, gave

her a small, a very small, command, with a little money, and like de Baudricourt at Vaucouleurs told her to go and let come what would. Burgundy's truces must by this time have become farcical, even to the King. As for La Trémouille, if Joan could harass the enemy into renewed negotiations, so much the better.

Of the personnel of the Maid's company little enough is known. D'Aulon, her two brothers, and Pasquerel, of these we may be certain. Did she have her two knights, gallant Jean de Metz and Bertrand de Poulengy, who on a winter evening had ridden with her through the Porte de France? One likes to think they would set out with her on this new adventure. Dunois, La Hire, Alençon, all these were gone. She may have had as many as fifty, or as few as five. No matter; once in the field again, captains and soldiers would rally to her standard.

As for her resources, there is her own testimony that two months later at Compiègne she had ten or twelve thousand *écus* of the King's property, "not a great treasure with which to make war." Whether she meant money and supplies that the King had given her, or that his towns had contributed to her campaign, is uncertain. She spoke, however, of asking supplies of the King, which is in the way of evidence that he sanctioned her going.

All that is known of Joan's immediate movements is from Perceval de Cagny and Jean Chartier, neither of whom was of her company. They agree that she proceeded to Lagny, probably by way of Montargis and Montereau, leaving to the west Melun, then in

enemy hands. At Lagny she seems to have found immediate following, with plenty of action. Chartier writes :

"In the year 1430 Joan the Maid left the country of Berry, accompanied by several soldiers, and came to Lagny-sur-Marne. And very soon after there came news that some three or four hundred English traversed the Isle de France. And quickly Joan the Maid took the field with Messire Jean Foucalt, Geoffrey de St. Aubin, Quennede, Scot [Sir Hugh Kennedy, Scot], and some of the garrison of Lagny ; and found these English, who ranged themselves all *à pié* against a hedge. Whereupon the Maid, Messire Jean Foucalt, and others determined to fight them, and in good order advanced, on foot and on horse, to smite these English. And finally those English were all killed or taken, and there were several French dead and wounded. And Joan the Maid, Messire Jean Foucalt, and others returned to the said Lagny with their prisoners."

Monstrelet, the Burgundian chronicler, gives an account of this engagement, which he thinks occurred about a month later. He says that the English party was led by a valiant Burgundian, named Franquet d'Arras, and that though outnumbered by the French, the Maid was obliged to send to Lagny for reinforcements and culverins, after which Franquet's men "were vanquished and discomfitted, the greater part of them put to the sword. The Maid even caused the head to be cut off of this Franquet, for which reason there was great complaint, inasmuch as in arms he was a man of valiant conduct."



Monstrelet is a reputable historian, after his kind; that is to say, with plenty of Burgundian trimmings. Franquet d'Arras was neither more nor less than a cut-throat robber, and Joan did *not* have his head cut off. Questioned by her judges, she said that she had consented to his death, if he deserved it; and that he had confessed to being a murderer, a robber, and a traitor. His trial had lasted fifteen days, with the Bailiff of Senlis as judge. She had at first asked for Franquet, to exchange for a prisoner in Paris, a Seigneur de l'Ours, but when she had learned that de l'Ours was dead, and when the Bailiff told her she would do a great wrong to let Franquet go, she had said to the Bailiff:

"Since my man is dead that I wished to have, do with this one what is required for the sake of justice." Her point of view may not have been flawless, but it fitted with her period. She is said to have taken Franquet's sword, carrying it in place of the sword of Fierbois, supposed to have been broken by her over the backs of some camp hussies, an incident variously told and located, probably a fable.

There is another incident of Lagny which would long since have been relegated to legendry had not the Maid herself given some account of it. An infant at Lagny, dead without baptism, had been brought to the church for prayer. Of this Joan testified at her examination that the child, three days old, was brought to Lagny, to Notre Dame. She was told that the maids of the town were in front of Notre Dame and wished her to go there, to pray to God and the Virgin to give



JOAN AT PRAYER. *By Jean Larrige*

CATHEDRAL OF BOURGES

*Grand prix de Rome, 1904*



*Above:* CHATEAU AT SULLY WHERE JOAN WAS WITH THE KING. *Left:* RUIN OF CHARLES'S CHATEAU AT MEHUN-SUR-YEVRE. *Right:* ANCIENT GATEWAY AT MEHUN

it life. She went there and prayed with the others. Finally it showed signs of life and yawned three times, when it was baptised, but soon died and was buried in holy ground.

She added that there had been three days that the child had shown no sign of life and that it was as black as her coat; that when it yawned, or gasped, its colour commenced to return. She "was with the maids on her knees at the time, saying her prayers."

Being on her knees in prayer, surrounded by a throng, she could hardly have seen the reputed miracle herself, her knowledge of it being hearsay. Anyone who has looked upon a dead face knows how easy it is to fancy there a flickering semblance of breath and movement. The excited young girls crowding about, their imaginations quickened by the fervour of eager faith, would easily see this, and much more. When Joan was asked if it had not been said in the town that the child was restored by her prayer, she answered that she did not make inquiry as to that.

Today at Lagny, in the square in front of the church, there is a statue of Joan, holding aloft a sword, named in the inscription below as having been taken from Franquet d'Arras, on the plains of Vaires. The miracle of the child is not mentioned.

De Cagny says that after Lagny the Maid spent some time at Senlis, at Crépy-en-Valois, at Compiègne and Soissons, "until the month of May succeeding." She was at these and other places, but there is little or no record as to the order of her visits. She was fighting to cut off the supplies sent to Paris, rightly



believing that this would bring the capital to a reasonable frame of mind. In a letter written at this period by the Duke of Burgundy to the English Council, he speaks of Paris as the "Heart of the Mystic Body of the Kingdom." Joan no less than the duke realized this and that each town cut off severed from the heart a source of life.

"And of her coming there was great noise and voice in Paris," says de Cagny, "and in other places contrary to the King."

In his list of towns de Cagny entirely overlooks one of the most important, Melun, twenty-five miles below Paris, on the Seine. For ten years Melun had been in English hands. Joan on the way to Lagny had passed it by. Now, however, she felt strong enough to visit it. She seems to have appeared before Melun soon after the middle of April, for during Easter week, April 17-23, the town dismissed the enemy garrison and opened its gates to the army of the Maid.<sup>1</sup> There could have been very little fighting, but some sort of delay there must have been, a day or two of siege, a demonstration such as was made at Troyes, for it was "on the *fosses* of Melun" that Joan received the first definite warning of her closing period of usefulness. We have this in her own words:

"During the week of last Easter, on the *fosses* of Melun, I was told by my Voices, that is to say, Saint Catherine and Saint Marguerite, that I would be captured before St. John's Day, and that it was necessary that this should happen, and that I must not be astonished and must accept it willingly, and that God



would aid me." She added that her Voices had repeated this warning several times, "so to speak, every day."

Each of us knows that the day of his usefulness, that life itself, must end. Yet the definite warning of the imminence of these things can hardly leave one unmoved. Almost from the beginning of her work Joan had announced that she would last but a year, "a year, not much more," begging them to make use of her as best they could. She had never known what the end would be, doubtless hoping to die gloriously in battle. Now at last, in a moment of action and success, had come the warning. The year, the brief year allotted for her task, was at its close. She was not to be killed in battle; she was to be captured!

A hundred times the English had promised her death by fire, no idle threat, as she well knew. Her Voices did not name the day, nor the hour, though she asked them to do this, begging that when she should be taken she might die without long suffering in prison. She confessed that had she known the time she would not have gone into battle; at least not willingly.

"Nevertheless I would have obeyed the command in the end, whatever the outcome."

Melun has no positive memento of Joan, but the eleventh-century church of Notre Dame may well have been her Gethsemane.

## VII

### PONT L'EVÊQUE AND SOISSONS. I WILL GO TO MY GOOD FRIENDS AT COMPIÈGNE

ONE cannot pretend to follow Joan very accurately during the next three or four weeks. With only half-hearted support of the towns; from some of them even downright opposition, she undertook work without due preparation and was unable to carry it to completion. Even her Voices seem to have become less positive in their counsel. That with a thousand horse she was at Senlis is shown by the town record, and a brief mention of her stay there came out in her trial; there is a tradition that she stayed for some period, however long or short, at the château of Berenglise, near Elincourt St.-Marguerite, which lies ten miles to the north of Compiègne, with a church dedicated to Saint Margaret.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the second week in May the Maid was at Compiègne, where she was joyfully welcomed. Here she found the Archbishop of Reims, who, it is certain, was there for no good purpose, probably with some fresh plan for surrender of the place to Burgundy. In August he had tried to force its delivery, as we have seen. Now the enemy were everywhere in abundance, getting ready to lay siege; his presence there at such a time strongly suggests connivance.

The Anglo-Burgundians were already active. Choisy, a few miles to the east of Compiègne, was invested, with Joan's old comrade, Poton Saintrailles, attack-

ing the besiegers from without. Hérault Berri writes that he captured and killed many men, "among others taken Jean de Brimeau of Picardy." But Saintrailles alone could not save Choisy, which presently would fall unless something was done to cut off a large Burgundian force assembled at Noyon, sixteen miles to the north.

It was on May 14 that Joan reached Compiègne. She did not delay getting into action. On the same night, enlisting the forces under Saintrailles and three other captains, she rode fifteen miles to Pont l'Evêque, a crossing of the Oise immediately below Noyon, and attacked at dawn. An old Burgundian chronicler, Jean Lefèvre, counsellor to the Duke of Burgundy, furnishes the best account of this engagement.

"The adversaries of the duke," he says, "assembled in great number, and among them Joan the Maid, who was Chief of War for the King, then adversary of the duke. . . . And these attacked those who guarded the bridge, and of a fact assailed them most straitly; but the knights of the duke defended themselves so valiantly that the enemy could not overcome them. And also the Lord of Saveuses and others of the duke's people came to their aid and rescue with all diligence. And there were a great number wounded on both sides; and for the time nothing further was done, each party returning to their own towns and fortresses, while the knights remained guarding the bridge until the duke was before Choisy."<sup>1</sup>

Monstrelet says that Joan had two thousand men at the Pont l'Evêque fight, which he calls a hard and

sharp skirmish (*dure et aspre escarmuche*) saved to the Anglo-Burgundians by the arrival of help from Noyon. But as he gives the casualties at thirty on each side, it could hardly have been a very fierce or very long engagement. Relief having failed, the French garrison at Choisy next day surrendered by agreement, departing with body and goods. The Anglo-Burgundians destroyed the fortress there and moved in force to strong positions across the Oise, facing Compiègne. Prospects for that city were not bright; it was meagerly provisioned, and while it had access to the country behind it, it was to a land picked clean by war.

Unsuccessful in keeping the enemy from before Compiègne, the Maid now planned to make a circuit and attack them from the rear. On May 18, accompanied by the Archbishop of Reims, the Count of Vendôme and such captains and forces as she could muster, a troop of possibly two thousand, all told, she rode twenty-five miles eastward to Soissons, where she expected to cross the Aisne. But Soissons was commanded by a Picard traitor named Guichard Bournel, who even then was plotting with Burgundy to deliver the town. On the arrival of Joan's army he ordered the gates closed, and according to Hérault Berri "suborned the city by making those within believe that these lords and soldiers came to remain in garrison, to the end that the people of the town would not permit their entry. The soldiers slept that night in the field."

Joan, the archbishop, Vendôme, and some others seem to have been admitted, but finally "the said captain put out [*bouta*] the said archbishop, Maid, and

Count of Vendôme, à *petite compagnie*." The scarcity of food in Soissons made a possible garrison a serious menace, but recalling the Soissons of ten months earlier, when the town had opened its gates to the Maid and Charles and swarmed about them with glad cries of "Noël!" we get a sharp sense of the change that had come over this friendly people through the dawdling of the feeble King. It was at Soissons that he had let the last great opportunity to march on Paris go by, and subsequent neglect had estranged the town itself. Following Joan's departure, the traitor Bournel delivered Soissons to Burgundy for 4000 *salus*, gold. Joan when she heard of it is said to have used strong language, a charge brought against her at her trial.

The country was too poor to support the Maid's army. They were without supplies, without definite plans. The commands separated and drifted away. Compiègne, whatever its need, could not support so large an addition to its garrison. Joan for the last time parted company with the Archbishop of Reims, and with a small command, a few hundred at most, went to Crépy-en-Valois, evidently uncertain what to do. At Crépy, whether by command of her Voices, or of her own resolve, she decided to render such aid as she could to Compiègne.

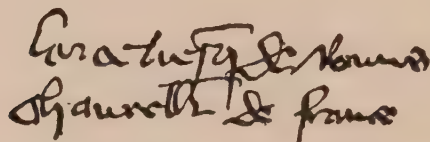
Just after midnight, on the morning of the twenty-third of May, 1430, with a company of three or four hundred, among them d'Aulon, her brothers, and Pasquerel, Joan rode out of the gates of Crépy. It was the dawn of the last day of her year—her year and a little more—of usefulness. She had no premonition of it.



When some of her people said that she had but few soldiers to go among the English and Burgundians, she answered :

“By my staff ! we are enough. I will go to my good friends at Compiègne.”

She arrived there about sunrise, “without loss or disturbance to her or her people, and entered into the said city.”<sup>1</sup>



SIGNATURE OF REGNAULT DE CHARTRES ARCHBISHOP OF REIMS,  
CHANCELLOR OF FRANCE

*(Facsimile from Wallon)*

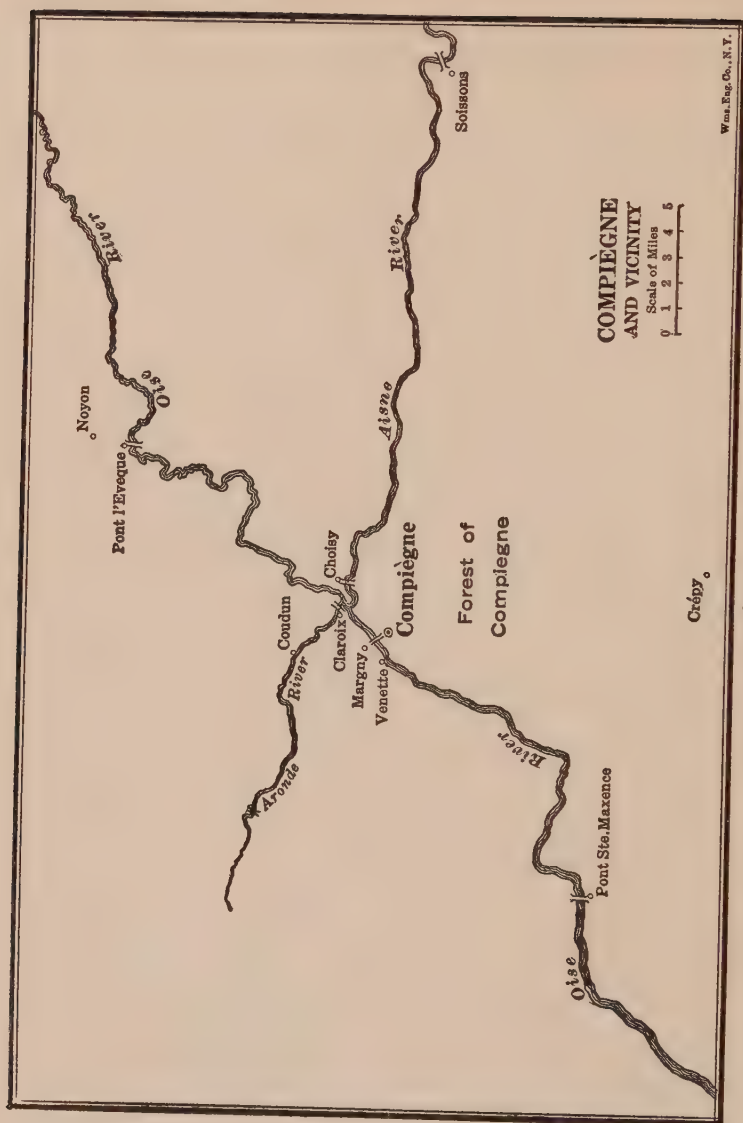
## VIII

### JOAN'S LAST BATTLE. "HAVE NO OTHER THOUGHT THAN TO STRIKE!"

THE accounts of Joan's last day in the field are confusing and contradictory. Joan herself supplies some of the details, and the chroniclers have added variations. Monstrelet, at the moment with the Burgundian forces, gives as good an account as any. No one story tells the tale, which, for the most part, it seems better to simplify in our own words.

During the afternoon of the day of her arrival — that is to say, of May 23, 1430 — her soldiers being rested and refreshed from their night ride, the Maid, with the agreement and coöperation of Guillaume de Flavy, Governor of Compiègne, decided to make a sortie on the Burgundian camp, at Margny, across the river, at the end of the bridge. Her purpose was to break up this camp and do as much damage as possible in a brief time; de Flavy, meanwhile, would be ready to cover her return, with archers and culverins on the city wall and along the river bank below.

Compiègne lies on the south bank of the Oise, and as above noted, Margny with its Burgundian camp was located just across the river, at the end of the bridge or a little distance beyond. To the right of Margny, two and a half miles up the river behind a bluff, lies the village of Clairoix, where John of Luxemburg had a larger Burgundian camp; to the left of Margny, less than a mile *down* the river, at Venette, was the camp of



MAP OF COMPIÈGNE AND VICINITY.

A general map of all routes followed by Joan of Arc, with itinerary, will be found at the end of this volume.

the English. Margny stood in low ground, and an embankment or *boulevard* extended from it into the meadows to the north and probably a distance each way along the river bank, like the levees of our Mississippi states. Joan hoped to break up the camp at Margny and get back across the bridge before the camps at Clairoix and Venette could be alarmed. It seemed a simple and feasible plan, and about five o'clock, all being ready, she rode at the head of five hundred men from the city gates. Over her armour she wore a scarlet, gold-embroidered *huque*, very likely the one given her by the Duke of Orleans, and so in fine attire entered her last battle for France.

The steel-clad company swept out upon the draw-bridge, crossed the river, and a moment later struck the Burgundian camp. The attack was a surprise and in the beginning successful. It would have been completely so, but it happened that John of Luxemburg and some gentlemen of his company were just then riding from Clairoix to Margny, and had reached a point along the overhanging cliff where they could see what was in progress. In hot haste some of the gentlemen rode back to Clairoix and in a very little while groups of Burgundians were hurrying to the rescue of the attacked camp, while another cry of "To arms!" had reached the less distant English camp of Venette.

Joan and her company could easily have retreated now by the bridge, but their fighting blood was up. They engaged with the arriving troops from Clairoix and drove them back in a succession of charges, suddenly to find themselves cut off from behind by the

English from Venette — five hundred strong, by Monstrelet's account.

"The French," he says, "seeing their enemies multiplying in great number, retreated toward their city, always the Maid with them, behind the others, making a great effort to support her men and withdraw them without loss."

Thus does an enemy picture Joan in her last battle. "Remaining behind as chief and the most valiant of her band," says Georges Chastellain, another Burgundian chronicler. De Cagny, probably repeating d'Aulon, adds detail :

"Those about her cried to the Maid: 'Make haste to get back to the town, or we are lost!' But she answered fiercely :

" 'Be silent! It rests with you to defeat them. Have no other thought than to strike!' "

This is the Joan of St. Pierre-le-Moutier. Perhaps again she expected reinforcements from the sky. Those near her, d'Aulon and her brothers, would not heed her, and pressed forward to the bridge, dragging her with them.

But then the enemy swarmed about, in a frenzy to capture the French witch. There was a crush at the bridge entrance, the French crowding and slashing their way across it in a mass, the enemy pressing in on every side. De Flavvy from the wall, seeing this and fearing, as he said, that the enemy would force their way through the city gates, ordered the drawbridge raised. Joan and those about her were doomed.

They were forced from the embankment into the wet



meadows and dragged from their horses. One of John of Luxemburg's men, an archer of the Bastard of Wandonne, was fortunate enough to seize the Maid, caught the crimson and gold *huque* and pulled her down.<sup>1</sup> Accounts differ as to what passed between them. Burgundian historians say that she rendered faith to her captor. De Cagny says that when required to do this she answered: "I have sworn and given my faith to another than you, and to him only will I keep my oath." No report of words exchanged at such a time could have any historic value. Joan, her two brothers, with d'Aulon, faithful to the last, also a brother of d'Aulon's were borne off prisoners, her "good friends of Compiègne" looking on. To her judges Joan said:

"And the river lay between Compiègne and the place where I was taken. And there was only between the place where I was taken and Compiègne just the river, the *boulevard*, and the moat of the said *boulevard*." Yet how far from them she was; as far as death is from life!

## IX

### COMPIÈGNE REMEMBERS

THE little city on the Oise for which Joan gave her liberty has suffered much from siege and assault since then. During the great world struggle bomb and shell heaped ruin in its ancient streets and tore away many a landmark. The church of St. Jacques, however, where she heard mass before her sortie, though damaged by shell fire, still survives. Joan has a fine memorial altar there, and is remembered in other churches.

In the main square, facing the Hotel de Ville, one of the handsome public buildings of France, stands a spirited and worthy statue, the Maid in armour, her banner aloft, and on the base her words as reported by de Cagny: "*Je iray voir mes bons amys de Compiègne,*" — "I will go to see my good friends of Compiègne." During the bombardments of the World War shells fell only a little way from the statue, but it was not struck.

The street along which Joan rode for the last time is named for her, but the city gate through which she passed to her last charge is gone. The ruined tower near the river, called La Tour de Jeanne d'Arc, was then already a ruin and was in no way related to her sojourn.<sup>1</sup>

Across the river at Margny, a house facing the quay bears a tablet to the effect that it was upon this property that Joan of Arc was captured. The court at

the back, today filled with barrels, contains the last arches of the bridge, which the ancient boulevard joined, hence it must have been very near by that Joan was forced from the embankment into the meadow, and taken. The ground has been filled to the bend of the arches, so that the spot of her capture is a good ten feet below the surface. The vestiges of the bridge are all that is left to recall the onslaught and the clamour of that fierce final moment of the military career of the Maid of France.



PART EIGHT  
CAPTIVITY





## I

### A GREATER PRIZE THAN FIVE HUNDRED MEN. GUILLAUME DE FLAVY. CHARLES

“AND the French returned to Compiègne, mourning and sorrowful of their loss,” writes Monstrelet, “and by especial had most great displeasure for the taking of the Maid. On the other hand, those of the party of Burgundy and the English were most joyous over it, more so than to have taken five hundred men: for they neither feared nor dreaded any captain or other commander so much as they had always done, until this present day, this Maid.

“Soon after came the Duke of Burgundy from his quarters at Coudun, where he camped on the meadows of Compiègne. And there assembled the English, the said duke, and those of the other camps, in very large number, greeting one another with great cries and demonstrations of rejoicing [*resbaudissemens*] for the taking of the Maid, whom the duke went to see in the place where she was, and spoke to her some words which I cannot well recall, though I was there present. After which the duke and all the others returned to their camps for the night. And the Maid remained in the guard and the government of Messire John of Luxemburg.”<sup>1</sup>

It was to Clairoux that the prisoners were taken, and a few days later John of Luxemburg sent them for safer keeping to his château at Beaulieu, which lies to the north of Compiègne about twenty miles. Joan was

treated as a prisoner of war with Jean d'Aulon as her attendant. The latter, apparently cast down, said to her :

"That poor city of Compiègne which you have most loved will now again be placed in the hands of the enemies of France." But she answered him :

"No, it will not ; for all the places that the King of Heaven has reduced, and restored to the hand and obedience of the noble King Charles by means of me, will never be retaken by his enemies, so long as he will use diligence to keep them."

This sounds like Joan, and de Cagny who tells it could have had the story from d'Aulon himself.

Certain reported circumstances of Joan's capture have given trouble to her historians. Perceval de Cagny says that the English and Burgundians, believing she would make a sortie, laid an ambush for her. Another early chronicle, "*Le Miroir des Femmes Vertueuses*," goes much farther, declaring that Joan was deliberately sold and betrayed to the English by Guillaume de Flavy, Governor of Compiègne, who had ordered the drawbridge raised only to prevent her return. As proof of this the author cites the testimony given nearly seventy years later by two ancient men, aged respectively eighty-six and ninety-eight, these having maintained that on the morning of the day of Joan's capture, being in the church of St. Jacques, where Joan had come to mass and confession, they heard her announce to all present, including many children who were brought there to see her, that she had been sold and betrayed, and would soon be delivered to death,

asking them to pray for her who would never again be of service to the King and kingdom of France.<sup>1</sup>

This is not very impressive testimony. The last item in particular was in effect contradicted by Joan herself, who testified at Rouen that she did not know that she was to be captured when she made the sortie at Compiègne. Historians have further shown that de Flavy held Compiègne against siege, assault, and offers of bribery, from which they deduce his innocence. That he was a stubborn defender of his city is not questioned.

On the other hand, the case of de Flavy as concerns Joan has features to be considered. For one thing, he was an appointee and deputy of La Trémouille; also, a relative of Regnault de Chartres, Archbishop of Reims, whose presence at Compiègne ten days before Joan's capture might conceivably be connected with it. Certain it is, that following her capture the archbishop wrote to the people of Reims a letter justifying it, charging Joan with being wilful, unwilling to listen to advice, meaning the advice of himself and La Trémouille. He added that the King had now a new prophet, in the person of a shepherd boy from Gévaudan, who said neither more nor less than the Maid and had the commandment of God to go with the King's soldiers, who without fail would defeat the enemy. God had suffered the capture of the Maid because of her pride and the rich raiment she had worn, and because she had not followed God's commands, but her own will.<sup>2</sup> In which letter, says Andrew Lang, the Archbishop of Reims "touched the lowest depths of

human meanness and malignity." The shepherd boy, it may be noted in passing, won no battles. The poor lad was presently captured by the English, and drowned.

But to return to de Flavy. Though the Maid had failed at Pont l'Evêque the governor seems to have been in full accord with her proposed attack on Margny and willing to coöperate with it. For the rest, the Burgundians from Clairoix did appear with rather suspicious suddenness. One does not ride back and get troops mounted and bring them two miles, even at a gallop, in less than half an hour; the thing is impossible. In that time Joan could have broken up the Margny camp and been back in Compiègne. It looks very much as if those troops were already mounted and on the way when Joan struck the Margny camp. The English troops, too, came with surprising promptness, though being a scant mile distant their arrival is more easily accounted for. As for de Flavy, himself, considering his defences, he certainly raised his drawbridge with what seems unnecessary haste.

De Flavy's fireside characteristics also may be noticed. To obtain sooner his father-in-law's castle at Nesle, he imprisoned him and starved him to death, by this and other cruelties so torturing Madame de Flavy that she finally conspired with his barber to assassinate him. The plot was successfully carried out; de Flavy was killed in his bed, Madame de Flavy herself sitting on his head, meanwhile, to smother his cries.<sup>1</sup>

Guillaume de Flavy was like most others of his day.



Whether or not he was guilty of betraying Joan to the English, he was potentially guilty of anything. Had de Flavy, or any other fifteenth-century nobleman, or prince, or king, at any moment found Joan superfluous, or his profit in getting rid of her, he would have dismissed her to captivity and the executioner with scarcely a second thought.

Which brings us by natural and easy stages to Charles VII, this being precisely his attitude. When word came to him, as it did immediately, of the siege of Compiègne and Joan's capture, he replied, saying that he would send aid to the city, which of course he never intended to do, having already done his best to deliver it to Burgundy. Concerning Joan, he said nothing whatever, and if he ever gave expression to anything beyond a sigh of relief, there remains no hint of it today. A modern author, Janet Tuckey, in her admirable monograph of Joan, has this to say of him :

And Charles? Gratitude, that rare virtue in princes, was utterly unknown to him, the king of false courtiers and greedy sycophants. His thanklessness almost passes belief. He made no effort, wrote no line, expressed no desire for Joan's deliverance. He did absolutely nothing.

Charles was through with Joan — entirely through! When the great churchman, Jacques Gelu, Archbishop of Embrun, who a year before had referred to Joan as an "angel of the armies of the Lord," wrote the King :

"For the recovery of this girl, and for the ransom of her life, I bid you spare neither means nor money, however great the price, unless you would incur the indelible shame of most disgraceful ingratitude,"

Charles remained quite unmoved. He had his crown, his good cities on the Loire ; he was not now in personal danger. He would no longer know what to do with Joan even if he had her. Her restless eagerness always to be in action annoyed him. And if, as was said, even by many of his own party, she was a witch, why not leave her to the English to be righteously burned. Traffic with witches was not only prohibited, but highly dangerous. One could not be too careful.

Not all of Charles's court would be in sympathy with such a point of view, but unquestionably many were. No human being ever gained favour with a king without making enemies, and Joan certainly had been no exception. Those who had opposed her, few in the beginning, had undoubtedly grown in number, and these were not disturbed by her downfall. Witch, or not, it had been well enough to profit by her, though at best she had been an ever-present menace, something to be feared, hated, and when no longer useful, destroyed. There would be never a question of pity ; that sentiment was unknown.

As to the others, those who had fought side by side with the Maid, they appear to have accepted her capture as a part of the fortunes of war. We hear nothing from de Cagny of any sorrow, any regret expressed by her *beau duc*, of any plan to rescue or ransom her, and of such things he would surely have spoken.

In the most impersonal way he briefly tells of her capture and its tragic sequence. La Hire, Dunois, de Rais, and a dozen others had drifted away and were fighting on their own account. The Maid was no

longer a factor in their undertakings, nor, apparently, in their anxieties. Saintrailles,<sup>1</sup> de Boussac, Vendôme — they had been with her near the end, but there is no reason to believe they modified their later plans by so much as a shade to be of possible service to her. Certain it is that there was never any organized movement in the direction of either her rescue or her ransom.

A united effort might have accomplished one of these things. Joan was a prisoner of war, and under the rules of that day could possibly have been ransomed from John of Luxemburg, who though devoted to the English cause was a free lance, poor and avaricious, ready to sell her like so much merchandise to the highest bidder. Orleans knew this, Tours knew it, and in grief and gratitude both these cities held masses, services of mourning, and formed processions in which barefooted priests marched through the streets, carrying images and praying for her deliverance, but they raised not a single sou with which to buy her life. Probably Bedford would have outbid any offer of theirs, but it would add a gracious and mitigating memory today to find that they made one.

As a matter of fact, hard as it may seem in retrospect, Joan had outlived her usefulness. She was still worth prayers and processions and mourning, any amount of spiritual, but no material, wealth.

On the other hand, the enemy leaders were celebrating as if they had ended a victorious war. The Duke of Burgundy sent the news in all directions. Two days after Joan's capture, when it reached Paris, Bedford ordered *Te Deums* sung in all the churches.

As a sample of the word sent out by Burgundy, his letter to the inhabitants of St. Quentin may be noted. It was written on the evening of the day of the Maid's capture.

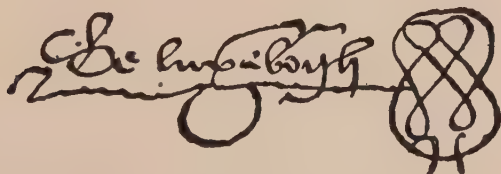
The duke tells how the soldiers of Compiègne sallied forth, among them the Maid, with a number of her principal captains, and how in encounter with these, his *beau cousin*, John of Luxemburg, and his men, supported by the English, made such good resistance and progress that when the duke in person arrived he found the adversaries already driven back, "which thing was by the pleasure of Our Blessed Creator, who had accorded such further grace that she, called the Maid, was captured, and, with her, several captains, knights, squires, and others — captured, drowned, and killed — of whom at this hour we do not yet know the names; with the loss of none of our men, nor of the men of My Lord the King, either killed or taken; nor of our men were there twenty wounded, by the Grace of God."

St. Quentin had been one of the towns eager to yield to the Maid, and at this point returning to her capture the duke pointedly continues :

"Knowing that this capture will be great news everywhere, and will make known the error and foolish belief of all those who to this woman have been favourably inclined, we send you our report, hoping that you may find in it joy, comfort, and consolation, and for it give thanks and praise to our said Creator, who sees and knows all, and who by His blessed pleasure will conduct the rest of our undertakings to the good of our

said lord, the King [of England] and of his seigneurie, and to the relief and recomfort of his good and loyal subjects.”

By which it is clear that in this war Heaven would no longer be permitted to give aid to the other side.



SIGNATURE OF JOHN OF LUXEMBURG

*(Facsimile from Wallon)*



## II

BEAULIEU. "NEVER A GLEAM OF ARMOUR; NEVER A FRINGE OF LANCES ON THE HORIZON." THE LADIES OF BEAUREVOIR

THE castle of Beaulieu where Joan was confined was a brick affair, brick being much employed in Picardy to this day. From the fragment of it that remains it appears not to have been a gloomy fortress, but rather a strong dwelling, hardly intended to withstand siege. However this may be, Joan could not have been confined in any lofty, iron-grated tower, for by her own testimony she came very near escaping "between two pieces of wood," probably the slats of a sort of pen, "and would have shut her guards in the tower, if it had not been for the porter who saw her and met her." One may only try to surmise what it was like, and where d'Aulon and the other prisoners were when she made this attempt.

Joan doubtless believed that some of her former comrades with rescue parties would be lurking about, and that once outside the walls she would fall into their hands. It would be hard for her to realize that no attempt was being made to save her, who less than a year before had been the idol of France — that she had, in fact, been abandoned. According to an Italian chronicler, Morosini, there was a rumour that Charles had sent an ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy, declaring that if anything happened to the Maid he would take vengeance on such of the duke's people as

fell into his hands. Such a rumour may have reached Joan, and given her heart.

In any case, nothing came of it. The Maid from her tower saw the level fields grow red with poppies, but never a gleam of armour, never a fringe of lances upon the horizon. June brought the anniversaries of Jargeau, of Beaugency and Patay. July brought the day of coronation when she had given her King his crown. That had been a year ago, too short a time in which to be forgotten. Talbot, captured at Patay, had taken his mishap as a "fortune of war." But Talbot most certainly would be ransomed. Why not herself, as well? The messengers with the news might come any time.

Some rumoured plan for Joan's rescue, her own daring attempt, and certain other influences prompted her captor to move her to a castle some forty miles to the northeast, Beaurevoir, twelve miles south of Cambrai. How long Joan had been at Beaulieu is not known, but she could hardly have left there later than July, for by her own account she was four months at Beaurevoir, which she left in November. Another uncertainty is the time of her parting with d'Aulon and her brothers. If they were still at Beaulieu, she must have left them there, for they are nowhere mentioned again.

Beaurevoir was at this time the home castle of John of Luxemburg. His Aunt Jeanne, a very old lady, was there; also his wife, Jeanne de Bethune, and Jeanne de Bar, her daughter by a former marriage. The four Jeannes, or Joans, seem to have got on very well. The ladies of Beaurevoir visited with the girl from Domremy, and intimacy developed. At her trial Joan

said that they had urged her to lay off man's dress, offering her cloth to make a woman's garment. She had replied that she must first have the permission of God, and that it was not yet time. She told her judges that she would rather have done this at the request of these ladies than for any other in France, except her Queen.

Among those who came to Beaurevoir was a young knight, Aimond de Macy, attached to John de Luxemburg's person. He came to know Joan well, and devoted at least some of his time to her entertainment. Possibly he commanded the guard. In his testimony, taken at the Revision, he said :

"I saw Joan during her imprisonment in the château of Beaurevoir, where she was held by the Count of Ligny [Luxemburg's later title] in his name. It was there that I knew her for the first time. I saw her in prison and often spoke with her.

"It even happened once that playing with her I put my hand on her breast. But she would not suffer this, and repelled me with all her might. She was a girl that conducted herself honestly, in her words as well as in her acts and deeds."

A true knight of his time, was de Macy, primitive but honest ; we shall meet him again.

### III

#### THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS NEGOTIATES FOR JOAN

**B**AD news came to Beaurevoir. It was said that Compiègne would fall, and that all in the town over the age of seven would be put to the sword. The Maid was beside herself with grief at this report. She preferred to die, as she declared later, rather than live after the destruction of these worthy people. She resolved on another attempt at escape.

There was a further reason for her desperation. Bedford, who at her capture had ordered *Te Deums* sung, had instantly made up his mind to possess himself of her. It was not as a prisoner of war that he wanted her; as such he could only keep her in confinement, or have her assassinated. He meant to kill her, but it must be done in a way that not only would discredit her publicly, but would also put a blemish on the royal prerogative which through her had been conferred upon Charles of France.

It must be done through the Church. The Church could try her as a heretic, a blasphemer, and a witch. Such a trial meant conviction, and conviction meant the stake. That was Bedford's idea: to have Joan burned as a witch. That would dispose of her, and her memory would be execrated. As for Charles, a crown acquired through witchcraft would be no crown at all. His title to it would be highly irregular and void. Bedford's little nephew, Henry VI, properly crowned

and anointed, would be King. Such was Bedford's idea; such his plan.

He had not wasted a moment. On the day following the *Te Deums*, the University of Paris, in the person of the Vicar-general of the Inquisition, wrote the Duke of Burgundy an obsequious letter, praying and requiring that a certain woman named Joan, called the Maid, who had sown and scattered error among the good towns, causing lesions and scandals against divine honour and our sacred faith, to the loss of soul of several simple Christians, etc., etc., for the honour of God be safely and without delay brought before the Holy Inquisition, for trial.

To the annoyance of Bedford and the University, the Duke of Burgundy paid no attention to this summons. Joan in the hands of his *beau cousin*, John of Luxemburg, was a prize which one need be in no haste to surrender. John must be well paid for her in money and preferment; while for himself, with the Duke of Brabant dying, there was much to be obtained from England in the way of treaties which would enhance future revenues. Perhaps, too, the other side would have something to propose. Burgundy was never so English that he was not open to advantageous French suggestions.

As for John of Luxemburg, though told in a lengthy servile letter that he would acquire the grace and love of high Heaven and be the means of exalting the holy faith besides adding to the lustre of his lofty and noble name by surrendering Joan, he flatly declined to deliver her without substantial earthly recompense.



The University delegated Pierre Cauchon, a skilled and crafty churchman, to handle Joan's case. This with Cauchon would be a labour of love. As told in a former chapter, Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais had been obliged to leave his seat when that city had submitted to Joan and Charles, and he hated the Maid accordingly. Furthermore, he seems to have been promised the Archbishopric of Rouen if he would work her destruction. Following his expulsion from Beauvais, Cauchon had sojourned for a time in England, where he had found favour with Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of Winchester, and with him returned to France. It was upon Winchester that he depended for preferment, and he was fully determined to win the promised, or half-promised, reward.

Cauchon arrogated to himself special authority in the claim that Joan had been captured within the limits of his diocese, though evidence rather better than his has shown that Margny belonged to the See of Soissons. In any case this was of no real consequence. Backed by Bedford and the University his authority would have been sufficient had Joan been taken at Orleans.

A record in the National Library at Paris shows that Cauchon received 765 *livres tournois*, expense money, for trips made to the Burgundian camp at Compiègne, to Beaurevoir, and into Flanders, "on business connected with Joan, called the Maid"; that is to say, the business of making demands for her delivery into his fostering care. That he had made no progress by July is shown in two letters, written by the University, one each to the Duke of Burgundy and John of Lux-

emburg, cringing, slimy letters, the one to Burgundy beginning: "Very high and very powerful prince, and our very redoubtable and honoured lord, we recommend ourselves very humbly to Your Noble Highness." The one to Luxemburg was similar, only that to him they recommend themselves "affectionately." Burgundy is reminded that he has not replied to the letter of earlier date, and told that there are plans on foot to deliver Joan by subtle (*esquises*) means — this intended to scare him — the consummation of which would be to the great damage and honour of his Christian name. Also, he is given renewed assurance that if, "for the honour and glory of God, the exaltation of the sacred faith and the profit of good and loyal Catholics" he will deliver Joan to the Inquisitor of Paris, or to the Reverend Father in God, my lord the Bishop of Beauvais, the Saviour will maintain him in good prosperity and finally receive him into glory.

The letter to John contains all these things, only more of them, for after all it is John who has the Maid, and in the last analysis can dispose of her as he chooses. John is also told of the rumours that she is to be rescued by "ways *esquises*," and in the end is assured that the members of the University will each be held to pray God for the prosperity of his very noble person, "which God our Saviour will through His grace conduct and guard in all its affairs, and finally reward, joy without end." <sup>1</sup>

At the same time Pierre Cauchon appeared at John's camp before Compiègne, with a summons of a different nature. Cauchon was a man of prayer, but he believed

he knew a better way to John's heart. His written proposition also recited Joan's crimes, witchcraft, idolatry, invocation of demons, and what not, but he then proceeds to say that while she is *not a prisoner of war*, that nevertheless the King (Bedford) *will liberally pay the sum of six thousand francs for her*, and will further give her captor, the Bastard of Wandonne, to maintain his estate, an income of two or three hundred francs, adding further that if this proposition be not agreeable, that, "while the capture of this woman cannot be compared with the capture of a king or a prince, yet if persons of such estate *were* taken, the King could buy them if he wished by paying to them who had made them prisoner ten thousand francs, following the law, usage, and custom of France. The said bishop does therefore summon and require in his name and that of the King that the said Maid be delivered on receipt of a guarantee of *ten thousand francs to be paid, this sum to cover everything.*"

The first effect of these documents on John of Luxemburg had been to ripen his impulse to remove Joan to Beaurevoir, as a place of greater security. This at least seems a fair deduction, the letters and summons all bearing date of July 14 and her removal to Beaurevoir apparently having occurred about the same time. The Maid had very nearly escaped once, and if there were really schemes for her delivery afoot, and if the Church was as eager as all that to get her, it seemed better to have her in a place more remote while he considered his possible advantages. As for the summons of the little English King, John being in the pay

of England, something was to be said for its authority. Nevertheless, if there was anything in the rumour that other ransoms were to be offered, it might be just as well to wait and see what they were. It was hard to believe that Charles would complacently let the Maid go. Lacking money he might offer a good town, even a province. At all events something more might be squeezed out of Bedford.

## IV

"I WOULD RATHER DIE THAN BE IN ENGLISH HANDS." A LEAP FOR FREEDOM

IT was the knowledge of these matters, and their discussion at Beaurevoir, with her growing conviction that nothing was to be hoped for in the way of rescue or ransom, that drove Joan to desperate measures. Cauchon in September had pursued John of Luxemburg even to that retreat and the Maid well knew what was going on. She told her judges that the Demoiselle of Luxemburg, John's aged aunt, had pleaded with her nephew not to sell his prisoner to the English; but that she knew herself to be sold. She and all there knew another thing: that to be sold to the English was to be delivered to the flames.

Joan, looking down from her tower window, recognized this narrow opening as her only avenue of escape. One less scrupulous than herself might have sought to enlist the aid of the knight gallant, Aimond de Macy. The thought probably never entered her head. Yet she was not a saint, but only a human being — a girl of eighteen who could not bear the thought of the slaughter of her friends, and who herself shrank from death by fire.

Joan's window has been estimated to have been sixty feet above the ground, a terrifying distance. To jump from such a height was more than likely to prove fatal.

"I was sold to the English," she told her judges, "and I preferred to die rather than be in the hands of the English."

To risk death in such a manner was a sin. She knew this, for daily she discussed the matter with her Voices. Saint Catherine nearly every day told her that she should not jump; that God would aid her, and also those of Compiègne. She had answered that since God would aid those of Compiègne she wished to be there. To this, Saint Catherine replied that without fail she must take whatever came, and that she would not be delivered until she had seen the King of England. Whereupon she, Joan, had said:

"Truly, I have no wish to see him. I would rather die than be in English hands."

Nevertheless, she had no wish to kill herself, but only the hope to save her body and go to the rescue of many good people who were in necessity. She was much over-wrought, she said. Her Voices several times forbade her to jump, but she could not hold herself from it, and at last commending herself to God and Our Lady, jumped, and was injured.

This is Joan's own story, the only one of her attempted escape.<sup>1</sup> We do not know whether it was by night or day, or how long until she was found. That she lay for some time unconscious, and when roused had no memory of what had occurred, is gathered from her further statement that some said she was dead, and that as soon as it appeared to the Burgundians that she was alive they told her she had jumped.



And the Voice of Saint Catherine bade her to be of good cheer, and said that she would be cured, and that those of Compiègne would have succour. There were two or three days that she had no desire to eat, being so injured that she could neither eat nor drink and was, however, comforted by Saint Catherine, who told her to confess and ask mercy of God for having jumped; and that without fail those of Compiègne would have succour between then and Saint Martin's winter day, November 11. She began to recover and commenced to eat, being soon cured. This is the story as Joan told it, and further we know nothing.

There is no record that Joan ever saw the little English King, though she was to be very near him, under the same roof, and may have done so.<sup>1</sup> The saints, however, kept their promise as to Compiègne. After great trials, and when the city was near starvation, it was delivered by troops under Poton de Saintrailles and the Count of Vendôme, who combined with the citizens in a movement that ended with the complete overthrow of the besieging forces. This was on October 25. Joan's effort to escape must therefore have been somewhat earlier.

Its immediate result was the thing she had most wished to avoid. As soon as she was able to travel by horse, which could hardly have been in less than three or four weeks, John of Luxemburg, for the sum of ten thousand francs, delivered her into English hands.

He had long since closed the bargain. An ancient

<sup>1</sup> See page 92 of this Volume.

document shows that on the third of September the states of Normandy were commanded by Bedford to raise a hundred and twenty thousand francs, ten thousand of which were for "the payment of the purchase price of Joan the Maid, declared to be a witch, person of war, conducting the army of the Dauphin."<sup>1</sup>



SIGNATURE OF POTON DE SAINTRAILLES  
(*Facsimile from Wallon*)

## V

THE BLEAK WAY TO CROTOY. DEVOUT AND FURTIVE CHURCHMEN. THE MAID'S JOURNEY. ROUEN

IT was about mid-November that Joan, strongly guarded and in chains, set out on that dreary journey across Flanders and Picardy which would have its end in Rouen. Except for her anxieties and injuries her stay at Beaurevoir had for the most part passed well enough. There had been company and kind treatment. What was the manner of her parting from the ladies of Luxemburg whose lord for a price was sending her to her doom? What could they say to her?

By way of Crèvecœur and Cambrai she was taken to Arras, capital of Artois, a distance of thirty-five miles. Her lodgings there and the length of her stay are matters of conjecture. At her trial she spoke of being offered a woman's dress, by Lord John Pressy and others, who had several times asked her to accept it; also of seeing there a picture of herself, a painting by a Scot, a semblance in full armour kneeling and presenting letters to the King.

From Arras by way of Doullens and Bernaville, across a bleak, billowy land, under November skies, the Maid and her armoured guards rode toward the sea. As they passed through towns and villages the people would of a certainty fill the streets to see her, and some would speak out for her and pray openly, for many among them believed her sent from God. At St. Riquier the grim cavalcade halted, lodging a little

way beyond at the castle of Drugy, where in a small tower Joan was made secure for the night.

In an old history of the Counts of Pontieu and mayors of Abbeville there is a statement that the leading churchmen and principal citizens of St. Riquier came out to visit Joan, "and all had compassion to see her persecuted, being very innocent."<sup>1</sup>

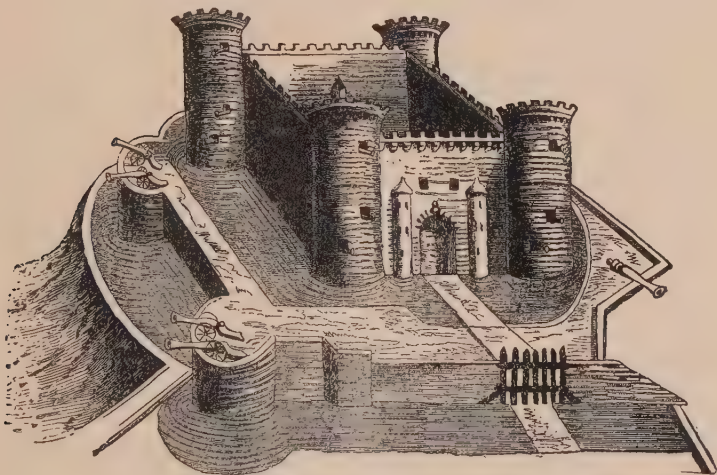
It was only a little way from Drugy to Abbeville, a big town on the Somme, a year earlier among those ready to surrender to Joan and the King. There was, however, a road from St. Riquier to le Crotoy which did not touch Abbeville, and one is inclined to believe that Joan's escort, knowing the sentiments of that town, made a circuit around it. There seems to be no tradition of her having been at Abbeville, and no town today fails to claim her when it can.

Le Crotoy, for the time their destination, was a small port at the mouth of the Somme, overlooking the English Channel. From a rise of ground above Noyelles Joan would get her first view of the sea, a sight strange enough to a girl from Lorraine. She was passing near the battlefield of Crécy, with Agincourt a little farther away. Her guards may have reminded her of it.

And now came le Crotoy, with its strong, rectangular castle, on a rocky cliff of the Picardy coast. In one of its four great towers Joan was lodged. Gloomy and cheerless it must have been, but better than riding in chains.

The reader looking at the map may wonder why, when the Maid's destination was supposedly Paris, where she was to be tried, she had been taken in that

roundabout way to le Crottoy. One reason, or excuse, may have been that between Beaurevoir and Paris most of the towns, such as Crépy, Senlis, and Compiègne, were in French hands. The real reason was that



THE CASTLE OF LE CROTOY.

*(Reproduced from Wallon's Jeanne d'Arc)*

neither Bedford nor Cauchon had any wish to try Joan in Paris, which city, being none too well fed, was proportionately none too well satisfied with English rule. Rouen, safely English, seemed the natural place for the process. Moreover, Rouen, however reluctantly, would grant territorial courtesies to Cauchon, in order that he might hold court there. In Paris there could be complications. Le Crottoy was therefore not so far out of the way, and its harbour for English vessels was advantageous. In event of untoward circumstance the prisoner could quite safely be slipped across to England.

The University of Paris was not satisfied. In a letter to Henry of England (in other words, to Bedford) it urged that the Maid be sent there for trial. To Cauchon on the same day it wrote :

“ We view with astonishment, reverend father and lord, the great delay occasioned in the sending of this woman, commonly called the Maid, so prejudicial to the faith and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, especially since she is said to be at present in the hands of our Sire, the King.”

The letter adds that it is customary to deliver offenders against the faith into the hands of the Church in order that they may be promptly punished, and suggests that had Cauchon displayed somewhat more active industry in pursuit of the business, Joan might already have been before the tribunal. Reminding him that it is a matter of great importance to one of his high standing, it urges him to seek with extreme diligence to have this woman placed in his power and that of the Inquisitor of Heretic Perversity. The letter closes :

“ This done you will take care to have her brought safely to this city of Paris, where there are a number of persons, wise and learned, in order that this process be examined diligently and conducted with certitude, for the wholesome edification of the Christian people and the honour of God who much desires, reverend father, to accord to you in all things a special aid.”

Neither Bedford nor Cauchon showed any disposition to hurry matters. Cauchon, in fact, was waiting permission from Rouen to try the case there,



and Bedford for reasons of his own was not inclined to hasten this action of the Church. So the weeks dragged by, with Joan in her gloomy tower, waiting she knew not what.

She was not entirely without company. Chevalier Aimond de Macy, who must have been among those who accompanied the Maid from Beaurevoir, testifies that besides Joan in the castle at le Crottoy there was a prisoner of considerable importance, Master Nicolas de Queville, Chancellor of the church of Amiens.

"The chancellor often celebrated divine service in the prison, and Joan nearly always attended his mass. I learned later from Master Nicolas that he had heard Joan in confession, and that she was a good Christian of very great piety. He spoke of her with the highest praise."

Once, at least, some ladies from Abbeville came to visit Joan "as a marvel of her sex, and as a generous soul inspired by God for the welfare of France." The ancient chronicler who records this adds that they congratulated Joan on her faith and resignation, and invoked many blessings in her behalf. The Maid thanked them and asked them to pray for her. Then she kissed them, commending them to God. "These venerable ladies shed tears of tenderness as they took leave of her and came away in company, by boat on the river Somme, as they had come; for it is five leagues from Abbeville to Crottoy."<sup>1</sup>

Cauchon finally got his permission to try Joan at Rouen. In the end, pressure from the heavy hand of Bedford may have become necessary, but the

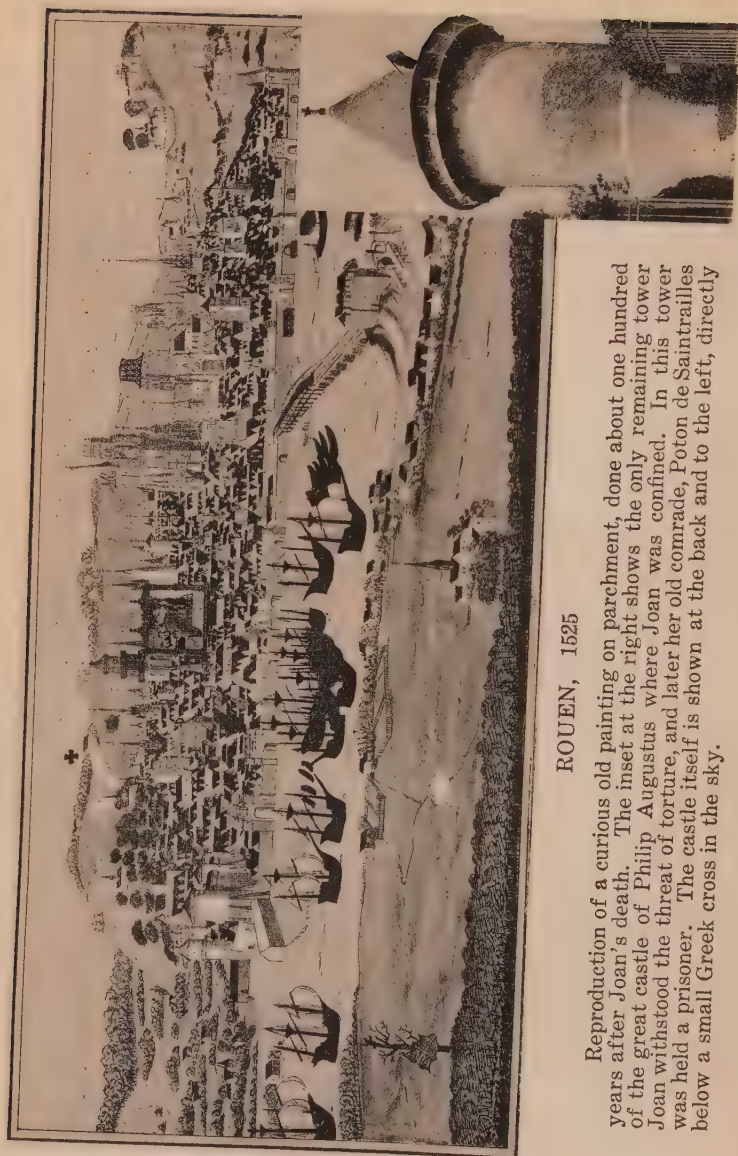
document itself is sufficiently gracious. "The reverend father [Cauchon] has no intention," it says, "to strike his sickle into the harvest of others without our permission." It admonishes the faithful of both sexes and of whatever condition, by virtue of the holy obedience, to comply with every requirement of the reverend father, both in bearing testimony, in consultation, and otherwise.

The letters granting this concession bear date of December 28. Six days later an order in the name of the King required that Joan be delivered for trial to the Reverend Father in God, Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, "without refusal or contradiction." In this document, which is long, Joan's sins are recited, and the name of God occurs twelve times. At the end it expressly stipulates that if not convicted, the Maid is again to be claimed by England. In other words, if the Church cannot find means to dispose of her, England will.

Cauchon had not waited for the official documents. Before Christmas Day Joan was already on the way to Rouen, in chains and under heavy guard. The history of the Counts of Pontieu has it that "leaving the walls of the town of Crotoy she was put into a barge accompanied by many guards, to take her across the river Somme, which is very wide at this place, for the reason that it here enters the ocean — about one half league when the tide is high." There is no mention of a fleet or army, but at le Crotoy there is a tradition that five hundred English came by water and fifteen hundred Burgundians by land, to receive and conduct



*Above:* CHATEAU OF ARC LA BATAILLE. *Left:* JOAN'S PRISON, DRUGY FARM. *Right:* OLD CHURCH NEAR CROTOY



### ROUEN, 1525

Reproduction of a curious old painting on parchment, done about one hundred years after Joan's death. The inset at the right shows the only remaining tower of the great castle of Philip Augustus where Joan was confined. In this tower Joan withstood the threat of torture, and later her old comrade, Poton de Saintrailles was held a prisoner. The castle itself is shown at the back and to the left, directly below a small Greek cross in the sky.



the prisoner, "whom they prized more than all the gold of Lombardy."

They crossed to St. Valéry and took her down the wintry shore twenty miles, to Eu where they lodged for a night at the castle. Next day they passed through Dieppe, and to the great castle of Arques la Battaille, where again she found shelter. One shudders to think of that bitter winter journey, long days in chains, with a dungeon at the end of each; one pictures the open-mouthed, staring crowds of Eu, of Dieppe, of the villages as the troopers clanked through the streets, in their midst a girl not nineteen, the Maid of miracles, the witch going to her doom.

The third and final day was through Norman hamlets, each with its ancient church, humble villages like Domremy and Greux. By nightfall they were on the hills above Rouen, looking down on the spires of the cathedral and St. Ouen, on the huddled, sharp-roofed houses, on an assembly of sombre towers, the great castle of Philip Augustus, where during long months she would do battle with the wariest minds in France. A little more and they had passed down the steep descent to the city, and crossing a drawbridge entered the castle yard and heard the portcullis clang down behind them. Then presently she was led to a dungeon in one of the towers, "the one toward the fields," and delivered to leering, ribald English guards.

It was an even two years, perhaps to the day, since with Durand Laxart she had left Domremy to reclaim France — had begun that amazing journey which here had found its end.

## VI

### THE WAY THAT LEADS TO ROUEN

THE trail of Joan's last sad migrations — from Beaulieu to Beaurevoir and le Crotoy, and from le Crotoy to Rouen — is well-nigh obliterated today. The brick castle at Beaulieu is a definite starting-point, and though struck more than once in the storm of the World War that swept over it, considerable portions still stand, in part humbly occupied. A little way from it there stood, until the war came, a bronze statue of the Maid, of which only the base is left, still bearing its brief inscription :

*Première étape vers Rouen.*

(First stop on the way to Rouen.)

Joan's way from Beaulieu to Beaurevoir may only be conjectured, and is no longer important. All the district between was devastated by the great war, villages and farm-houses utterly demolished. Even had there been landmarks, they would hardly have survived. Beaurevoir itself was left a complete ruin, though a little to the west of the stricken town stands a shell-shattered remnant called the Tower of Joan of Arc, said to be the one from which she made her desperate leap for freedom. It may be so. The castle of John of Luxemburg could once have stood on that slight eminence, but there is no other trace of it today.

In the village itself, as at Beaulieu, there was formerly a statue of Joan that the enemy carried off



for the bronze. Only the scarred base remains. A few steps away stood an ancient church, which the war left a battered shell.

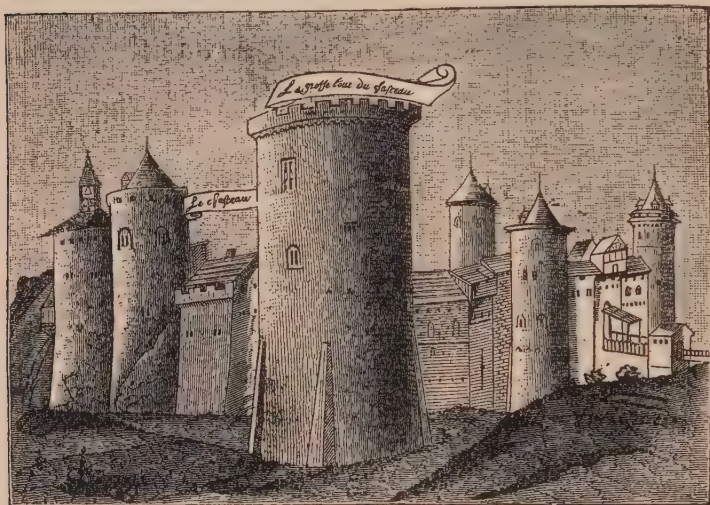
Joan could hardly have gone to Arras other than by Crèvecœur and Cambrai, but neither at these places nor at war-smitten Arras can she be traced. All these towns are in reconstruction, and will presently be rebuilt, with old trails harder than ever to find.

It is different at "Drugy Farm." The war scarcely touched St. Riquier, and the small tower that made a one-night prison for the Maid of France remains intact. It is all that is left of Drugy castle, and forms today the corner support of a very large Picardy farmhouse, the point at which the long right angles join. It may once have been higher, but the part which survives is undoubtedly genuine. A tablet over the door records the fact of the Maid's sojourn there. Soldiers lodged in it during the World War. At present it is a storage for vegetables.

In Joan's day the castle of Drugy belonged to the abbey of St. Riquier, where the Maid and her guards undoubtedly attended mass before their departure. There is no longer an abbey, but its beautiful Gothic church still stands. It has a handsome chapel of Joan, with a large replica of the well-known statue of her by Desvergnès. Between Drugy and le Crotoy nothing can be identified, but a little beyond Noyelles, near Morlay, the road passes a small but exquisite church, today the ruin of a hundred years. Joan saw it in its glory; they may have let her halt there a little.

Of the great, ungainly château of le Crotoy there remains a mere bit of the foundation. The old chronicler already quoted, of the Maid's departure says:

"She bade adieu to those of the castle of Crotoy,



THE CASTLE OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS, WHERE JOAN WAS IMPRISONED  
AT ROUEN.

Joan's tower was the first showing to the right of the great tower, a portion of the latter being all that remains of the castle today.

*(Reproduction of an ancient print: Wallon)*

who mourned her departure, for she had greatly consoled them. One sees yet the room where she slept, which since that time commands the respect of those who visit it."

But this was long ago. Richelieu, who found the castles of France a menace, destroyed that of le Crotoy, along with so many others. There remains no trace today of Joan's tower. Le Crotoy has become a

modern summer resort. Gardens and cottages occupy the place where once the castle stood. Portions of the ancient church of le Crotoy belong to Joan's time, but other than these and the harbour and the great sea beyond it nothing remains that she could have seen.

The castle prison where she lodged at Eu long since disappeared, but at Arques la Battaille stands an imposing ruin of the so-called castle of Henry IV, because long after Joan's stay he won there a great battle. The guide will try to point out Joan's room, or at least where it was, or might have been, but the imagination can make little of the crumbling heap, and the eye wanders away to the distant slopes upon which the captive's eyes once rested.

Between Arques and Rouen are still the Norman villages and the small ancient churches some of which certainly saw her pass. And from the hills above Rouen one may still look down upon the spires of the cathedral and St. Ouen, though the vast assembly of towers which formed the château of Philip Augustus long since crumbled to indeterminate fragments. A single tower, much rebuilt and changed, marks the ancient site. Of this we shall speak again.



## PART NINE

### ROUEN





## I

### THE *BEAU PROCÈS*. JOAN'S GUARDS. "MEN OF THE MOST VILLAINOUS SORT"

JOAN was not immediately brought to trial. Preparations for Cauchon's *beau procès*, as he called it, were not complete. He proposed to make it an especially "fine process," impressive as to proportions, complete as to evidence, unassailable as to form, perfect in every detail — a model for all witchcraft and heresy trials thereafter, as became one who would presently assume the great office of Archbishop of Rouen.

To begin with, he delegated a commission to gather evidence at Domremy and Greux. But this venture did not turn out well. The commission brought back reports which only with the greatest difficulty could be twisted into anything damaging to Joan. One of those sent declared he had learned nothing about her that he would not gladly have heard of his own sister. Cauchon reviled him as a traitor, and first declared he would not pay the cost of the inquiry.<sup>1</sup>

Another commission — women, this time, supervised by the Duchess of Bedford — made a similar report as to Joan's chastity. The *beau procès* was not getting a good start. When the "Reverend Father in God" was advised by some of his chosen counsellors that his proceedings were irregular and of doubtful legality, he became violent and so fiercely threatened to drown his critics that a number of them fled the country.<sup>2</sup>

Not that the bishop lacked coöperation. In the University of Paris were any number of starvelling doctors and shuffling priests, willing in those meagre days to sit in any court that would put a few francs into their lean purses and insure them a dinner; willing as well to render judgment conformable to their immediate welfare and to any prospect there might be of future preferment. In Rouen, Beauvais, and elsewhere were those prompted by hatred, others by fear. One who testified at the Revision, Brother Isambard de la Pierre, said :

“Some, for example the Bishop of Beauvais, obeyed their partiality for the English cause. Others, such as two or three English doctors, were impelled by a desire for vengeance. Others, like the doctors of Paris, were attracted by the prospect of recompense. Others, among them the Vice-inquisitor, yielded through fear.” Isambard himself belonged with the last named.

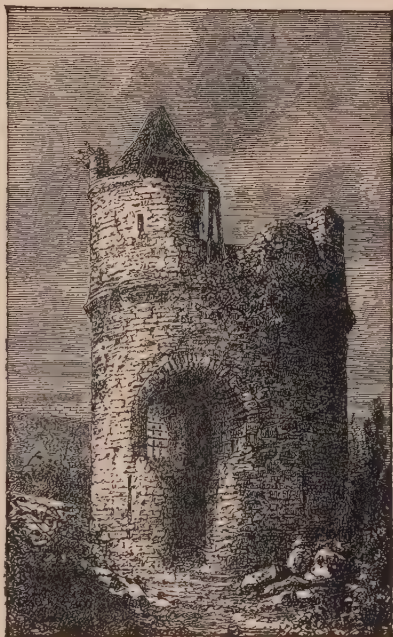
The Maid's situation during the seven weeks or more preparatory to her trial can scarcely be imagined, much less be told. The words which would convey all the facts would never do. As a prisoner of the Church she was entitled to confinement in the ecclesiastical prisons, with female attendance. This grace was not allowed her. That gallant knight, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, called the father of courtesy, was her chief jailer, but because Joan was a heretic and a witch the chivalry of the time required no more than that she be kept alive for the day of execution.

Her tower dungeon, being but little above the ground, "eight steps" by one witness, would be sunless, for the walls there would be thick, the windows mere slits. There is testimony that she was first confined in an iron cage, but this may be questioned. Such a cage was constructed for her, but there is no evidence that it was used.

There is ample evidence that her hands and feet were heavily chained, the latter attached to a log of wood. Bailiff Jean Massieu, who saw her oftenest, testified :

"Joan slept with her legs held by two pairs of irons, her body wrapped round by the chain which, crossing the foot of her bed, was fastened to a great piece of wood, locked with a key. In this way she could not move from her place."<sup>1</sup>

Captive though she was they were afraid of her, afraid she might lay a spell upon them, and, aided by demons, escape. "The English feared Joan more than all the rest of the army of France," said Curé Bouchier, another witness at the Revision.



RUINS OF JOAN'S TOWER, 1808, "THE TOWER TOWARD THE FIELD."

(After an old lithograph: Wallon)

Her dungeon was filthy, and bitterly cold. She had no privacy of any sort. Worse: John Gray, her English guard, kept by day and by night in her cell some four or five of his underlings, "miserable men," Notary Manchon calls them; "*housepilleurs*," says Massieu, "men of the most villainous sort." Mere human vermin they were, tramps, who sang and rioted and buffeted her about, taunting her with her fate,<sup>1</sup> spewing obscene threats.

Deprived of her rest in this bedlam, how she kept from going raving mad is a marvel. Her Voices helped; though, as she told her judges, she could not always hear them for the noise in her cell. She besought Warwick to transfer her to the ecclesiastical prison, a prayer that was never granted. That after seven weeks of such torture Joan was still able to go before her judges in the manner which we shall presently consider seems as miraculous as anything in all her miraculous career.

She had visitors: privileged persons who came out of curiosity, to stare, to ask questions, or to taunt and revile her. Probably not one, even if so moved, would have dared speak a word in her favour. Some of these visitors lived to testify at the Revision, among them Pierre Daron, an official of the city of Rouen, who said:

"Impelled by curiosity I much desired to see Joan, seeking but one occasion. The same inclination moved Pierre Manuel, advocate of the English King. I found him and together we went to see her. We found her at the château, imprisoned in a tower, her feet shackled, and attached to a great piece of wood.

“Manuel spoke to Joan in my presence, and jokingly said that it was certain she would not have come there if she had not been brought. At the same time he asked her if before being made prisoner she had known she would be taken. ‘I much suspected it,’ she replied; and to the question that was asked her: why, if she suspected it, she had not been able to protect herself the day she was taken, Joan answered:

“‘I knew neither the day nor the hour I would be taken.’<sup>1</sup> Our interview then ended.”

Warwick one day brought a little group, among them one who must have been callous indeed to face her, John of Luxemburg, with the friendly knight Aimond de Macy, whom the Maid was perhaps glad to see. De Macy himself tells of that visit:

“Joan was in the château of Rouen, in a prison situated toward the field. During her detention the Count of Ligny [Luxemburg], with whom I was, came to Rouen. One day the count wished to see Joan. We went to her in company with the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Stafford. There was also the Chancellor of England, then Bishop of Thérrouenne, brother of the Count of Ligny. The count addressing Joan said to her:

“‘Joan, I have come here to buy you back, on condition, however, that you promise never again to arm yourself against us.’

“‘In God’s name!’ she replied, ‘you mock me; for I know well that you have neither the power, nor the wish.’ She repeated several times the same answer, and as the count persisted in his offer she finished



by saying: 'I know well that these English will put me to death, believing after my death to gain the kingdom of France. But if there were a hundred thousand *godons* more than now they would not have the kingdom.'

"These words angered the Earl of Stafford. He drew his dagger half-way from its sheath to strike Joan. But the Earl of Warwick prevented him."

Though there is no record of it, it may even have happened that the little King of England was one of Joan's visitors, and that she in fact saw him, as her Voices had foretold. From the testimony of Guillaume Manchon, chief recorder of testimony at the Maid's trial, we learn that the King was in Rouen when Joan was brought there, while a Norman chronicler notes that the boy ruler was brought to that city on the 29th of July, 1430, and remained there until after the Maid's death. He had his residence in the great castle where she was confined, and the Earl of Warwick, governor of the castle, was at once educator of the little king and jailer of the Maid. The young monarch would undoubtedly wish, might even demand, to see the witch of whom he must often have heard. Such a visit would naturally be very private.

Joan's statement that she knew full well the English would put her to death was warranted by the word which had assuredly come to her that the woman Pierronne, whom she had known as a follower of Brother Richard, had been burned in Paris for claiming to have visions, yet even more for maintaining that the works of Joan the Maid had been done by the will



of God.<sup>1</sup> If inoffensive Pierronne had been brought to the stake, how much more fiercely would England demand the ashes of one who by means of subtle incantations and deadly spells had destroyed their armies and crowned the rival king. Stafford must not be permitted to give her a merciful death with his dagger.

To England and her minions Joan was neither more nor less than a witch — “a lyme of the Feende,” Bedford called her — a demon in fair human guise, something to be execrated, tortured, burned.<sup>1</sup>

Thus in the month of February, year of our Lord 1431, the month in which two years earlier she had ridden by command of celestial Voices to save France, we find Joan of Arc, a girl of nineteen, pure of heart and body, abandoned by the King she had crowned, the cities she had redeemed, the captains she had led, chained in a vile prison, with a group of France’s most distinguished churchmen and doctors of law, bent on her destruction. What a world!

## II

### PIERRE CAUCHON, BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS, ARRAYS HIS FORCES. SIXTY AGAINST ONE

THE Official Report of the Maid's trial contains the steps of Cauchon's preparations, or as many of them as he thought it proper to record. At a preliminary meeting it was decided that Jean d'Estivet was to be promoter, or prosecutor, with Jean de Lafontaine as chief examiner and counsellor. Guillaume Manchon and William Colles, or "Boisguillaume," were appointed as recorders, and Jean Massieu, head priest of Rouen, was named as bailiff. With the exception of d'Estivet, these were all men of considerable courage, and of such honesty as the time could afford. How Cauchon came to make these selections is something of a mystery; it may have been to show a fair exhibit to a public none too well pleased with the prospect. Of this meeting Manchon later testified :

"In the beginning an assembly took place at which were present the Lord Bishop of Beauvais, the Abbé of Fécamp, Master Nicolas Loiseleur, and several others, in a house near the château. I was sent for, and the bishop said to me :

"'You must serve the King well. We intend to conduct a *beau procès* against this Joan. Recommend another Recorder, to assist you.'

"I named Boisguillaume, and he was appointed."  
Manchon, Boisguillaume, and a third recorder,

Nicolas Taquel, added later, proved truly brave men, Manchon in particular more than once refusing to set down garbled testimony, or to omit answers displeasing to the court.

In the minutes of that first meeting were included the various letters which had passed to and fro concerning the purchase and delivery of Joan, also the letters appointing the officials. In the letter naming d'Estivet as prosecutor the bishop takes occasion to define the Maid's offences and his authority for trying her. The paragraph follows :

"A certain woman, commonly called Joan the Maid, has been taken and captured in the course of the present year, within the limits of our diocese. On the part of the illustrious and serene prince, our Sire the King, she has been rendered and delivered to us as her proper judge, defamed as she was, publicly and notoriously, scandalous, and suspected of many sorceries, incantations, invocations, and conversations with evil spirits, and of several other matters concerning our faith, in order that we may try her, in accordance with the law employed in matters of faith."

A few days later the bishop called another meeting and exhibited his collected evidence : public rumours, certain memoranda, and "informations" obtained in and about Domremy. All told it must have been a meagre showing, but the informations contained something about a fairy tree, which certainly hinted at witch work, while the public rumours could grow. It was decided to set all in order for the next meeting.

This had been in mid-January, and matters must

have gone rather slowly, for it was not until a month later that enough had been collected and invented to warrant the examination of the accused. The bishop consulted with his intimates. They picked over the evidence.

"Finally on their advice and counsel," so runs the Report, "we concluded that there was charge sufficient, from these informations and for other reasons, to cite and prosecute the said woman in the matter of faith."

So at last all was in order. The court which would try the sorceress who had destroyed armies and "corrupted the minds of simple people" could be assembled forthwith. It was an imposing array.

#### PERSONNEL OF THE TRIAL OF JOAN OF ARC

##### THE PROSECUTION

##### *JUDGES*

Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais

Jean Lemaître, Vice-inquisitor of Rouen

##### *Prosecutor*

Jean d'Estivet, Canon of Bayeux

##### *Examiners*

Chief: Jean de Lafontaine, Clerk of the diocese of Bayeux  
Assisted by:

Jean Beaupère, Canon of Paris, of Besançon and Rouen  
Abbé of Fécamp, Regent, University of Paris

<sup>1</sup> *Thomas de Courcelles*, University of Paris

Nicolas Midi, Canon of Rouen

Pierre Maurice (or Morice), Canon of Rouen

Jacques de Touraine, University of Paris

Gérard Feuillet, University of Paris

<sup>1</sup> Names in italics are of those who voted for Joan's torture.

*Recording Notaries*

Chief: Guillaume Manchon, Canon of Rouen, Evereux,  
etc.

First assistant: William Colles ("Boisguillaume") No-  
tary of Rouen

Second assistant: Nicolas Taquel, Priest of Rouen

*Bailiff*

Jean Massieu, Dean of priests, at Rouen

*Prison Spies*

Nicolas Loiseleur, Canon of Rouen

Jean d'Estivet, Prosecutor, as above

*Others of the Court*

*Variously designated as "Assistants," "Assessors," and  
"Judges"*

Pierre Migiet	Guillaume Desjardins
Jean de Nibat	Denis Gastinel
Jacques Guesdon	Jean Ledouc
Maurice du Quesnay	Nicolas de Venderès
Jean Lefèvre	Jean Pinchon
Guillaume Le Boucher	Jean Basset
Pierre Houdenc	<i>Aubert Morel</i>
Jean de Chatillon	Jean Colombel
Erard Emengard	Jean Bruillot
Denis de Sabrevois	Jean Alespée
Nicolas de Jumièges	Geoffroy de Crotoy
Guillaume de St. Catherine	Nicolas Cavel
Guillaume de Corneilles	Guillaume Erard
Jean Guérin	Robert Gilbert (English)
Raoul Roussel	Abbé of St. Ouen (Rouen)
Guillaume Haiton	André Marguerie
Nicolas Couppensque	Pasquier de Vaulx
Guillaume de Baudribois	Abbé of Mortimer
Richard de Grouchet	Pierre Carrel

Pierre Minier	Guillaume du Desert
Jean Pigache	Jean Tiphaine
The Abbé of Preaux	Guillaume de Livit
Martin Ladvenu	Guillaume Delachambre
Isambard de la Pierre	Jean Manzier

Against this great battery was ranged :

#### THE DEFENCE

##### *Accused*

Joan of Arc, Maid of France

##### *Counsel*

None

Counting the names of those appointed to try Joan, there seem to be, besides the bailiff and the recorders, a full sixty, all clerics in high standing, doctors of law and theology, trained casuists, among them the best, and certainly the wariest, minds in France. In addition to these there were some twenty or thirty others who, by Cauchon's invitation, appeared from time to time, as special advisers, or merely to observe and admire the bishop's methods. Of the feeling among those connected with the process, Manchon, testifying at the Revision, said :

"My Lord of Beauvais and the doctors brought from Paris, and the English, at whose instance the



trial was conducted, acted through hatred. They did not pardon Joan for having fought the English, and in striking her they wished to reach the King of France. I have no wish to say that all those who judged Joan were prompted by hate. I leave this to their consciences."

Many among those summoned by Cauchon had little taste for the enterprise. Jean Lemaître, Vice-Inquisitor of Rouen, was of this sort. At the last moment he tried to worm out of serving, on the grounds that the case, though to be tried in Rouen, was really of the diocese of Beauvais. Cauchon bade him be of good cheer, assuring him that he would procure a special dispensation from the Inquisitor-General, which would enable him to serve. This the bishop promptly proceeded to do, and Lemaître became Cauchon's co-judge, though not immediately taking active part.

Two others of Cauchon's collection deserve special preliminary mention: Jean d'Estivet, prosecutor, a pet whom the bishop had brought over from Beauvais, and Nicolas Loiseleur, a canon of Rouen. These two were neither more nor less than prison spies, the latter disguising himself as a captive from Lorraine, to enter Joan's dungeon, gain her confidence, and offer advice as to her answers in court, such being a recognized method of the Inquisition.

### III

JOAN BEFORE THE JUDGES. "THERE MAY BE THINGS YOU WILL ASK ME THAT I MUST NOT TELL YOU"

THE final meeting, at which it had been decided that Joan should be summoned for examination, was held February 19. The following day Bailiff Jean Massieu was commanded to summon the accused to appear on the morning of Wednesday, February 21, at eight o'clock, in the Chapel Royal of the château, to answer truthfully as to the charges against her. Massieu was to intimate to her that failure to appear would be followed by excommunication.

To this summons Joan returned word by Massieu that she would willingly appear before them and reply truthfully to their questions, asking, nevertheless, that they assemble as many ecclesiastics of the party of France as of England,<sup>1</sup> and praying humbly that she might be permitted to hear mass before appearing in the bishop's presence. No notice was taken of the first request. As to the second, the Report says that in view of the crimes with which the woman was soiled, notably the unsuitableness of her clothing, in which she persisted, their opinion was that it was proper to delay permission to hear mass or attend divine offices. Bailiff Massieu was ordered to produce her at the time and place named.

Thus it was on the morning of February 21, 1431,

that the Maid finally appeared before Cauchon's tribunal. Two years before, lacking two days, she had ridden from the western gate of the castle at Vaucouleurs and Robert de Baudricourt had called: "Go, and let come what may!" Whatever that soldier had imagined, he had never pictured this present scene: Fifty or more stern, shaven, black-gowned men, facing a single figure seated on a bench, Joan in a page's suit, also of black, the face above it white with prison pallor, her hands chained; around and about the pressing crowd, as many as could get in the place.

Of that first morning, Bailiff Massieu, testifying at the Revision, said:

"At the beginning of the trial Joan asked to have counsel, saying she was too simple to hold her own. She was told that she would reply by herself, as she could, and that she would have no counsel."

The official Report does not mention this, but only says that Cauchon read before the court how Joan had been captured in the limits of his diocese, and how both there and elsewhere she had committed acts against the faith, "the echo of which had travelled through the Christian kingdoms." There is further embroidery, then finally reaching the examination, it says:

"It being the duty of our office to see to the conservation and exaltation of the Catholic faith, with the benign help of Jesus Christ, whose cause is here concerned, we have in the beginning charitably admonished and requested Joan, then seated before us, that in order to forward the trial, and to clear her conscience,

she declare the whole truth concerning the questions we would ask her in matters of faith, without evasions and subterfuges." At which point she was commanded to lay her hands on the Bible and take the oath to speak only the truth.

We arrive here at a really great moment: that of Joan of Arc's first reported utterance in her fight for life. To Cauchon's requirement she answered:

"I do not know upon what you wish to question me. There may be things you will ask me that I must not tell you."

"Will you swear to tell the truth concerning the questions that will be asked of you as to the faith, and what you know?"

"As to my father and mother, and what I have done since I came to France, I will swear willingly. But as to the revelations from God, I have never told or revealed them to anyone except to King Charles, and no more would I reveal them here, even should you cut off my head. For I had them through visions, and from my secret council, to reveal to nobody. Within eight days I shall well know if I must reveal them."

The official Report does not mention that confusion broke out here, but the equally good testimony of Manchon says:

"At the time of the first examination, in the chapel of the château of Rouen, when the first questions were asked Joan there was great tumult. Joan, so to speak, was interrupted at every word when she spoke of her apparitions, and there were present two or three

secretaries of the King of England who registered according to their fancy, omitting her reasons, and all that went to her defence. I complained of this, and said that unless there was order I would not accept the responsibility of making the record."

The prisoner had refused to reveal her visions! "Great tumult!" Joan was probably not much disturbed by it. The Maid who had led at Orleans and Jargeau would hardly be upset by a parcel of scolding priests. Repeatedly urged to take the oath, she finally knelt, her hands on the missal, and swore to speak the truth on such matters concerning the faith as she would know, "passing in silence the condition named that she would tell and reveal to nobody her revelations."

Having taken the oath the Maid was now required to state her name and surname. To which she replied:<sup>1</sup>

"In my country I was called Jeannette, and since I came to France Joan. As to my surname I know nothing."

"What is your native country?"

"I was born in the village of Domremy, which makes one with the village of Greux. At Greux is the principal church."

"What are the names of your father and mother?"

"My father is called Jacques d'Arc, and my mother Isabelle."

"Where were you baptized?"

<sup>1</sup> In the original report the examinations are for the most part recorded in the third person. To avoid monotony the present writer has varied this form somewhat, though preserving the matter of each question and answer in literal translation. Nothing is omitted, or summarized. Joan's examination is presented in its entirety.



"In the church of Domremy."

"Who were your godfathers and godmothers?"

"One of my godmothers is called Agnes ; another, Joan ; another Sybille [contraction of Isabelle]. One of my godfathers is Jean Lingué ; another Jean Barrey. I had several other godmothers, as I have heard my mother say." <sup>1</sup>

"By what priest were you baptized?"

"By Master Jean Minet, as I believe."

"Is he still living?"

"Yes, as I believe."

"What age have you?"

"Nineteen, as it seems to me." And further said :  
"My mother taught me my *Pater Noster*, *Avé Maria*, *Crédo* ; no other than she instructed me in my belief."

"Say your *Pater Noster*."

"If you will hear me in confession, I will say it willingly."

The record here says :

— And having been several times requested to do this, she replied that she would not say *Pater Noster* unless we heard her in confession. We then said to her that we would willingly assign to her two notable personages of France, to whom she would say *Pater Noster*, etc. To which Joan replied that she would say nothing to them unless they heard her in confession.

The record does not mention that Joan here asked to be transferred to the Church prisons, but in view of Manchon's later testimony and what the record does say, it may be assumed that she did. Says Manchon :



“Many times before and during the trial Joan requested that she be taken to the episcopal prison, but she was never listened to, and no account was made of her request.” The secretaries probably did not put down anything that Joan did *not* say, but evidently they did not put down many things that she did say. The report continues:

— Following which, we, the bishop, have forbidden Joan to leave the prison assigned to her in the castle of Rouen, without our authority, under pain of being convicted of the crime of heresy. She replied that she would not accept this inhibition, adding that if she escaped no one could charge her with transgression or having broken her word, since she had given her faith to nobody. She then complained of being imprisoned in chains and shackles of iron. To this we answered that elsewhere she had several times tried to escape, and it was to the end that she be guarded more safely that the order had been given to put her in chains. To which she answered:

“It is true that I have wished to escape, and would still like to do so; also that it is given to any prisoner, to escape if he can.”<sup>1</sup>

The examination here ended for the day. Joan's chief guards, John Gray, John Berwoit (probably Berwick), and William Talbot were officially appointed by the court, and being present were enjoined well and faithfully to guard her, “permitting no one whomsoever to confer with her without our authorization. The which they swore solemnly to do, with hand on the Holy Bible. Finally, having accomplished

all these preliminary acts, we have required Joan to appear tomorrow, Thursday, in the *chambre de parement*, at the end of the great court of the château of Rouen."

So ended the first day's battle. Joan returning to her wretched quarters may have felt that whatever the odds against her, thus far, at least, she had held her own.

"After dinner," says Manchon, "there was made at the bishop's house, in the presence of several doctors, a collation of our writings. Now, as the two clerks [the English secretaries] reported things in another manner than myself, and did not put down the things that excused Joan, it came about that My Lord of Beauvais was greatly angered at me. It was shown that the others had written otherwise than myself, and an effort was made to lead me to write like them. . . .

"Many times in writing the process I had to undergo reprimands from the Bishop of Beauvais and divers other doctors. They wished to force me to write according to their imagination, and contrary to what Joan had meant to say. And when there was something which did not please them they forbade its record, saying that it was of no value to the process. . . . They told me in Latin to employ other terms in such fashion as to change the sense of the words, and to record other things than those I had heard. But I never wrote except according to my hearing and my conscience."

Manchon may not have won in every contest with

the judges, but many bear witness to his courage. Canon Richard de Grouchet has this to say of the notaries :

“According to my belief, the clerks were faithful in their records. Notwithstanding, I have seen and heard the Bishop of Beauvais scold them sharply, when they would not do what he wished.”

True, beyond doubt. Nevertheless, as will duly appear, the secretaries themselves later told of many things that find no place in their reports.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda of the questions and answers were made by the notaries and each evening these were coördinated in carefully drawn minutes. Later, when the trial was long over, Manchon and Thomas de Courcelles made complete Latin transcripts, one of which went to the King of England, another to the Inquisitor Lemaitre, and a third to Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais. Three of the five are today in Paris: one fine one on vellum, in Manchon's beautiful script, in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des députés, and two of less richness in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The first named example is thought to have been the copy prepared for Cauchon himself. A page of it in fac-simile, showing the attestation of the notaries, appears in this volume. Only a portion of the French minutes survives.

## IV

### THE SECOND DAY; FEBRUARY 22. THE STORY OF THE VOICES

A GOOD fifty judges again assembled on the second morning of Joan's examination, this time in the *chambre de parement*; that is to say, the state or ceremonial chamber, the transfer having resulted from Manchon's complaint. "On my demand the place was changed next day, and the court assembled in a room of the château adjoining the main room, with two English guards at the entrance. The crowd of the day before was shut out, only a privileged audience being admitted."

Says the report :

— Joan being now introduced before us, we required and admonished, under penalty of the law, that she make oath the same as on the preceding day, and further that she swear to tell the truth, absolutely and simply, on all that might be asked her in the matter whereof she was accused and defamed. To which she replied that she had made oath yesterday, and that this should suffice.

"We require you to swear. Nobody in the world, even a prince, can refuse to take the oath required in matters of faith."

"I took your oath yesterday; that certainly should be enough. You overtax me."

She finally took the oath to speak truly on whatever touched the faith. Assistant examiner Jean Beaupère,

on Cauchon's order, then took the witness. He began by exhorting her to tell the truth, as she had sworn, concerning whatever he might ask her. She answered :

"You could very well ask me something to which I would answer the truth ; and something else to which I would not reply." And she added : "If you were well informed concerning me, you would wish that I might be out of your hands. I have done nothing except by revelation."

"What age had you when you left your father's house?"

"That I am not able to tell you."

"In your youth did you learn to do some special work?"

"Yes, to sew linen and to spin, and in these things I fear no woman in Rouen."

She further stated :

"Through fear of the Burgundians I went from my father's home to the town of Neufchâteau, in Lorraine, to the home of a woman called la Rousse. I remained there about fifteen days.<sup>1</sup> At home I attended the household duties, and did not go to the fields with the sheep and other animals."

"Did you confess your sins each year?"

"Yes, to my own *curé*. When he was not there I confessed by his wish to another. Sometimes, also, two or three, perhaps, I confessed to religious mendicants ; but this was in Neufchâteau. I took the sacrament at Easter."

Asked if other fête-days than Easter she had received the sacrament of the Eucharist, she replied :



"*Passez outre!*" meaning, "Pass to some other question," or "Let us change the subject." Then, apparently without being questioned, she said:

"At the age of thirteen I had a Voice from God to aid and direct me. The first time it caused me great fear. This Voice came about the hour of noon, in my father's garden. I had not fasted the day before.<sup>1</sup> I heard this Voice at the right, on the side toward the church, and rarely it came without light. This light came from the same side as the Voice, and there was ordinarily a great light. When I came into France I often heard this Voice."

—Asked how she could see this light, since it was at the side, she made no reply and passed to other things.

"If I was in a wood the Voice came to me. It seemed to me a worthy Voice, and I believe that it was sent to me on the part of God. After having heard it three times I recognized it as the Voice of an angel. This Voice has always guarded me, and I know it well."

"What information did the Voice give you for the salvation of your soul?"

"It taught me good conduct, and to go often to church. It told me that it was necessary that I should come to France."

She added, evidently in reply to a question, that Beaupère would not learn from her this time under what form the Voice appeared to her. She then said:

"Two or three times a week the Voice told me that I must come to France. My father knew nothing of my going. The Voice kept urging me to come to



France; it said that I could no longer remain where I was. It told me that I would raise the siege of Orleans. It told me that I, Joan, would go to Robert de Baudricourt, in the town of Vaucouleurs, of which he was captain, and that he would give me men to come with me. I answered that I was a poor girl, knowing neither how to ride nor conduct war.

"I went to my uncle's home, telling them that I wished to remain there a while, and stayed there about eight days. I told him that I must go to Vaucouleurs, and my uncle took me there.<sup>1</sup>

"At Vaucouleurs I recognized Robert de Baudricourt, though I had never seen him. I recognized him by means of my Voice, who said that it was he. I said to him that I must go to France. Twice he repulsed me with his refusals. The third time he received me. The Voice told me this would happen.

"The Duke of Lorraine ordered that I be conducted to him. I went there and told him that I wished to go to France. The duke asked me concerning the recovery of his health, but I told him I knew nothing of that. I told him little as to my journey. I asked him, however, to give me his son, with some men, to accompany me to France,<sup>2</sup> and that I would pray for his health. I had gone to the duke under safe conduct. From there I returned to Vaucouleurs.

"From Vaucouleurs I set out clad as a man, wearing a sword that the captain had given me, without other arms. Accompanied by a knight, a squire, and four servitors I reached the town of St. Urbain and slept there, in an abbey.

“During my journey I passed by the city of Auxerre, where I heard mass at the great church. And frequently I heard my Voices, with that of which I have already spoken.”

Joan here separates the Voices known to her as those of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret from the first Voice, which she had accepted as that of Saint Michael. Asked here by what counsel she had taken the dress of a man, she several times refused to reply, and finally said that she laid the burden of it on no one, repeating this in different terms. Continuing, she said :

“Robert de Baudricourt made my companions swear to well and safely conduct me. And at my departure he said : ‘Go, and let come what may !’ ”<sup>1</sup>

— The said Joan further declared that God loves the Duke of Orleans ; that she has had more revelations on his account than concerning any man living, except him she names as her King. Said further that it was necessary to change her dress to that of a man. She knows well that her council has wisely advised her.

“I wrote to the English before Orleans that they should retire, as is contained in the copy of the letter read to me here in Rouen, except two or three words that are in the copy. For example, where it says in this copy : ‘Render to the Maid,’ it should be, ‘Render to the King.’ There are also these words : ‘*corps pour corps*,’ and ‘*chef de guerre*,’ which were not in the original letter.

“I arrived near the King without interference. Being at St. Catherine de Fierbois, I sent word to the King, and later went to the château of Chinon where

the King was. I arrived there toward noon, and lodged at first in a hotel. After dinner I went to the King, who was at the castle. When I entered the presence of the King I recognized him among the others, through the counsel and revelation of my Voice. I told him that I wanted to make war on the English."

We get here the impression of a quiet court-room, with Joan telling her story about in her own way, her judges seldom interrupting her, probably silent with interest. Now, however, they began to question her.

"When the Voice designated your King was there no light?"

"*Passez outre!*"

"Did you not see a certain angel above the King?"

"Spare me: *passez outre!*" She then added: "Before the King set me to work I had many visions and beautiful revelations."

"What revelations did your King have?"

"I will not tell you that. You will not have a reply yet, but send to the King and he will answer you."

The report here contains this important *Item*:

—Joan said that her Voice had promised her that as soon as she arrived her King would receive her. Said also that those of her party well knew that the Voice was sent from God.

Nothing unusual thus far, but then follows the startling conclusion:

—They *saw* and *recognized* this Voice; which the said Joan declared she knew well. And further stated that her King and several others *heard* and *saw* the

Voice that came to her, and that Charles of Bourbon was there, and two or three others.

Joan's hardships had told on her, after all. Her tortured mind was already touched by that strange, sad figment of illusion that in time would obsess her whenever questioned as to the sign by which she had recognised the King. A moment later, her normal self again, she added :

"There is not a day I do not hear this Voice, and I have great need of it. I have never asked of the Voice any other recompense than the salvation of my soul.

"My Voice told me to remain before St. Denis, in France, and I wished to remain. But against my will the lords took me away. Nevertheless, if I had not been wounded I would not have gone. I was wounded on the moats of Paris, having come from the town of St. Denis ; but in five days I was cured. I had engaged in a skirmish before Paris."

"Was this on a fête-day?"

"It was, as I believe."

"Was it well to have done this?"

"*Passez outre !*"

— This accomplished, considering that enough had been done for one day, we, bishop aforesaid, put off the continuation of the matter until Saturday next, at eight o'clock, morning.

## V

### THE THIRD DAY. THE INCIDENT OF NICOLAS DE HOUPPEVILLE. "DO YOU KNOW THAT YOU ARE IN A STATE OF GRACE?"

THE official Report tells the story, but by no means *all* the story, of the trial. Always there are chapters running underneath or beside it, chapters significant and illuminating, which but for the witnesses of the Revision we should never have known.

There is, for instance, the story of Nicolas de Houppesville. Several witnesses refer to it; de Houppesville himself lived to tell it in full, as follows:

"Summoned to the trial on the first day, I was prevented from coming. The second day I went there but was not admitted, and was even driven away by the bishop. The reason for this was, that conferring with Master Michel Colles, I had said that there was peril in bringing such an action, for several reasons. This opinion was reported to the bishop. In consequence he had me confined in the royal prison at Rouen, and I only got out on petition of the Abbé of Fécamp.

"My opinion had been that neither the bishop nor those who were willing to take with him the burden of such a judgment could be judges; that to judge Joan by persons of the party against her was not a good manner of procedure; that moreover she had already been examined by the clergy of Poitiers, and by the Archbishop of Reims, Metropolitan [superior] of the



Bishop of Beauvais. This opinion put the bishop in great anger against me. He cited me to appear before him. I appeared in order to tell him that he was not my judge, nor myself his subject, seeing that I was officially amenable to Rouen, after which I withdrew. But just as I was arranging to appear before the official of Rouen, I was arrested and taken to the château, and to the prison of the King. When I demanded the reason of my arrest I was answered that it had been made by request of the Bishop of Beauvais. All the trouble, I have no doubt, came from the opinion expressed by me in my deliberation. My friend, Master Jean de Lafontaine [chief examiner] sent me a note in which he advised me that my detention was because of my words, and that the bishop felt greatly irritated toward me. Finally, through the efforts of the Abbé of Fécamp I was set at liberty. According to what I learned, certain assessors assembled by the bishop expressed the opinion that I should be exiled into England, or elsewhere out of Rouen. My friends and the Abbé of Fécamp saved me this unpleasantness."

De Houppeville being one of the few who dared to express an honest opinion as to the *beau procès*, his conclusions as to Cauchon himself are worth quoting:

"I have never thought that the Bishop of Beauvais engaged in this process for the good of the faith and through zeal for justice, with the desire to redeem Joan. He simply obeyed the hate that he had conceived for her because of her devotion to the party of the King of France, and far from having yielded through fear, he merely followed his own inclination. I saw



this when he rendered an account to the Regent and to Warwick of his negotiations for the purchase of Joan, being unable to contain himself for joy." <sup>1</sup>

On Saturday morning, February 24, Joan appeared again in the *chambre de parement*, as commanded. Either her story had stirred a deep interest among the assessors, or Cauchon had been diligent, for more than sixty were present.

The judges, as usual, began by commanding Joan to speak the full and absolute truth, without reserve or condition — three times repeating this charge. Joan answered :

"Give me permission to speak"; then said : "By my faith, you could ask me such things as I would not tell you!" And said further : "It may be that on many things you could ask me I would not tell you the truth, as touching my revelations; for it could happen that you might thus force me to tell things that I have sworn not to tell. Thus I would be perjured, which you should not wish." And she added : "I say to you, 'Consider well the claim that you are my judge, for you assume a great burden, and too much you burden *me*.'"

— She also said that it seemed to her enough to have sworn twice before.

— Asked if she would swear simply and absolutely, she answered :

"You may as well pass that. I have sworn twice, which is enough."

— She added that all the clergy in Rouen could not condemn her without right. And said that of her

coming to France she would willingly tell the truth, but not everything; and that a week would not be long enough to hold it all.

— We, the bishop, told her to take counsel of the assessors, as to whether or not she should swear. To which she replied :

“Of my coming I will willingly speak the truth, but not otherwise, and you need no longer urge me.”

“By not swearing to speak the truth you will render yourself suspect.”

“I will speak the truth of my coming.”

“We require you to speak the truth absolutely and precisely.”

“I will willingly tell what I know, but not all that I know.”

— She added further that she had come on the part of God; that she had nothing to do here, asking that she be returned to God, from whom she had come.<sup>1</sup>

“You are required to swear, and warned to do so, under penalty of being burdened with the full charge against you.”

“*Passez outre !*”

— Finally we have once more required her to swear, and have admonished her to tell the truth on what related to the process, warning her that her refusal exposed her to great peril. She then replied :

“I am ready to swear and to tell the truth as to what I know relating to the process.”

— Accordingly she swore. Following which, on our order she was questioned by the distinguished doctor, Jean Beupère, who first asked :

E
 vero Guillelmus Tollet alicuiusmodi p[ro]p[ri]etatem d[omi]ni p[ro]p[ri]etatis  
 Ined[ita] et m[od]o. q[ui] n[on] h[ab]et. p[ro]p[ri]etatem notariis et m[od]o causis  
 p[ro]p[ri]etatis cum alijs p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis  
 et m[od]o d[omi]ni p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis  
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 et h[ab]et cum d[omi]ni alijs notariis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis  
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E
 vero Guillelmus manchon p[ro]p[ri]etatis d[omi]ni p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis  
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 cum notariis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis  
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E
 vero Nicolaus Taquel p[ro]p[ri]etatis d[omi]ni p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[ro]p[ri]etatis  
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## END OF THE "BEAU PROCES"

ATTESTATION OF THE THREE NOTARIES, BOISGUILLAUME, MANCHON  
 AND TAQUEL WITH SEALS OF CAUCHON, BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS  
 AND OF THE INQUISITER.

Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Deputes. MS N 1119



# PART OF AN ANCIENT PLAN OF ROUEN

A, CATHEDRAL  
 C, CHATEAU—JOAN'S PRISON  
 D, THE OLD PALACE  
 H & I, ST. OUVEN

F, THE OLD MARKET  
 7, STREET OF THE PRISON  
 52, STREET OF THE  
 GOOD CHILDREN

THE STREET OF THE OLD PALACE LEADS FROM THE OLD MARKET TO THE PALACE ITSELF



"At what hour did you drink and eat the last time?"

"Not since yesterday afternoon."

"When did you hear the Voice that comes to you?"

"I heard it yesterday and today."

"At what hour did you hear this Voice?"

"I heard it three times: once in the morning, again at vespers, and the third time on the stroke of the *Ave Maria*, in the evening. Very often I hear it more frequently than that."

"What were you doing yesterday morning when the Voice came to you?"

"I was asleep, and it wakened me."

"Did the Voice waken you by touching your arm?"

"I was wakened by the Voice without it touching me."

"Was the Voice in the room with you?"

"That I do not know, but it was in the castle."

"Did you kneel and thank the Voice?"

"I thanked it, but I was seated on my bed with clasped hands; and this was after I had asked for counsel. The Voice told me to answer boldly."

"What did the Voice say when you woke?"

"I asked counsel of the Voice as to what I should reply, saying that I sought counsel of Our Lord. The Voice told me to reply boldly, and that God would comfort me."

— Asked if the Voice had not said certain words before her request, replied: that the Voice had said some words, but that she had not understood all. Nevertheless, after she was awake the Voice had told her to reply boldly. Addressing Cauchon, she said:

"You say that you are my judge. Consider well what you do, for in truth I am sent of God, and you place yourself in great danger."

"Has your Voice not sometimes changed its opinion?"

"I have never known it to speak with contrary tongues." She added that on this occasion she had heard it say she must reply boldly.

"Did your Voice forbid you to reply to all that would be asked you?"

"I will not answer you as to that, and I have important revelations concerning the King that I will not tell you."

"Did your Voice forbid you to make known these revelations?"

"I am not sure. Give me a delay of fifteen days and I will reply as to that."

— And after again asking delay, she said :

"If my Voice has forbidden me, what will you say?"

— Asked again if she had been forbidden to speak by the Voice, replied :

"You may well believe that it was not forbidden me by men."

— *Item*: Said that to-day she will not reply ; that she does not know whether to reply or not until she has revelation. Said also that she believes firmly, as she believes in the Christian faith and that Our Lord redeemed us from the pains of hell, that this Voice comes from God, and by His order.

"Is this Voice that you say comes to you that of an angel, or does it come directly from God? Or is it the



Voice of a *saint*, or of a *sainte*" (i.e. saint in male or female guise) ?

"This Voice comes on the part of God ; and I believe I am not telling you fully what I know. I have greater fear to fail by saying something that would displease these Voices than I have of not answering you. As to this question, I beg of you that I may have delay."

"Do you believe it would displease God to tell the truth?"

"My Voices have told me to tell certain things to the King, and not to you."

— *Item*: Said that last night the Voice had told her many things for the welfare of the King, and that she will drink no wine till Easter, and wished the King might know of it, so that, as she said, he might be happier for it at his dinner.

"Could you go so far as to make this Voice, obeying you, carry a message to your King?"

"I do not know if the Voice would obey, unless it was the will of God, and Our Lord would consent to it. And if it pleased God, He could easily reveal it to the King; and of this I should be very glad."

"Why does this Voice not speak now with your King as it did in your presence?"

"I do not know if this is the will of God. If it were not for the grace of God, I could do nothing."

"Has your counselor revealed to you that you will escape from prison?"

"I am not obliged to tell you that!"

Here, on the margin of his notes, the recorder wrote : "*Superbe responsum*," "proud answer."

"Did your Voice last night give you counsel and advice as to what you should reply?"

"If it did, I did not well understand it."

"During these last two days, when you heard the Voice, was there also light?"

"The light comes at the sound of the Voice."

"With the Voices did you see anything else?"

"I will not tell you all; I have not leave to do so. Furthermore, my oath does not concern that. This Voice is good and noble; and I am not bound to answer you."

The record here states that at this place she asked to be given in writing a memorandum of the points on which she had not replied at the moment. Inasmuch as she could not read, and had no counsel, the request seems a curious one. From the next question it might be assumed that her examiner supposed she wished to submit it to her celestial advisers.

"Has the Voice of which you seek counsel vision and eyes?"

"You will not have that yet. There is a saying of little children that 'people are sometimes hung for telling the truth.'"

"Do you know yourself to be in the grace of God?"

That is to say in a "state of grace." Without warning, Beaupère had sprung this terrifying question. The assessors leaned forward. One of them, Bishop Jean Lefèvre, could not refrain from exclaiming: "It is a mighty question; she is not obliged to answer it."<sup>1</sup>

Cauchon turned on him fiercely. "You would have done better to be silent!"

It was indeed a mighty question. Whichever way she answered could be against her. Notary Boisguillaume, testifying at the Revision, declared that Joan herself, at first, said it was a great question to reply as to that. The record preserves none of these details, but only her answer :

"If I am not, God put me there ; if I am, God keep me there," and she added : "I would be the most sorrowful in all the world to know myself not in the grace of God."<sup>1</sup>

Says Boisguillaume : "Before these words the examiners were stupefied."

— She further said that if she were in a state of sin she believed the Voice would not come to her, and she wished that all might hear it as well as herself.

— She said that she was at the age of thirteen, or about that, when the Voice came to her for the first time.

"In your childhood did you play in the fields with the other little girls?"

"I went with them, certainly, but I do not know at what age."

"Did the people of Domremy hold by the party of the Burgundians, or by the opposing?"

"I knew but one Burgundian, and I wished that his head might be cut off ; that is, if it pleased God."

"Were the people of Maxey Burgundians, or their adversaries?"

"They were Burgundians."

"Did your Voice when you were young tell you to hate the Burgundians?"

"Since I understood that my Voice was for the King of France I did not like the Burgundians."

"In your youth did you have revelation from your Voice that the English would come to France?"

"The English were already in France when the Voices first came to me."

— Asked if she ever was with the children who fought for her side, replied no, not that she remembered; but that she had seen some of those of Domremy who fought against those of Maxey return from there much wounded and bleeding.

"In your youth did you have a great zeal to assail the Burgundians?"

"I had a great and warm zeal that my King should regain his kingdom."

"Did you wish to be a man when you knew you must come to France?"

"I have answered that."

"Did you drive the animals to the pasture?"

"I have elsewhere answered that." — Added that since she had grown larger and had understanding she had not commonly guarded the cattle, but had of course aided in taking them to the field, and to a castle named *l'Ile*, through fear of the soldiers. She did not remember whether in childhood she had minded them or not.

— Questioned on the subject of a certain tree, growing near to her village, she replied :

"There is, not far from Domremy, a tree, by some called the Ladies' Tree, and by others the Fairy Tree. Near it is a spring, and I have heard that those sick

of fever drink at this spring, and seek its water to cure themselves. This I have seen, but I do not know whether they were cured or not.

"I have heard it said that the sick, when they get better, go to the tree for recreation. It is a large Tree, called *fau* [beech] whence comes the Fair May and belongs by common saying to Messire Pierre de Bourlemont, cavalier.

"Sometimes I went there to play with the other girls, and made under the Tree wreaths of flowers for the picture of Our Lady of Domremy. I have heard old people say — not those of my family — that lady fairies came there. And I have heard that a woman named Jeanne, who was my godmother, the wife of Mayor Aubery of Domremy, has seen those lady fairies, but I do not know if this is true or not. I have never that I know of seen the fairies near the Tree."

— Asked if she had seen them elsewhere, answered that she did not know whether she had or not.

"I have seen little girls hang wreaths on the branches of the Tree, and have sometimes done this with the others. Sometimes we brought them away; sometimes left them there."

— *Item*: Said that after she knew that she must come to France she took little part in this play, and in these diversions, as little as she could. She said that she did not know whether, since the age of understanding, she had danced around the Tree; but that at times she may well have danced there with the others, though she had sung more than she had danced.

— *Item*: Said that there was a wood called the *bois chenu* that one saw from her father's doorway, less than half a league distant.

"I do not know, and have never heard it said, that lady fairies gather there, but have heard my brother say that in the countryside it is now told that I formed my purpose at the Fairy Tree; but this is not true, and I told him the contrary." Said further that when she appeared before her King some had asked her if in her country there was not a wood called the *bois chenu*; because there was a prophecy saying that from near this wood must come a maid who would do a marvellous thing, but that she, Joan, had told them she had no faith in that.

We pause, trying to realise that this is sworn fact, not fiction; that in a real world, a world of sunlight and affairs and busy people, a real girl of flesh and blood sat there in chains, alone and unadvised, facing sixty of France's wariest churchmen, telling the innocent story of her childhood to those keen casuists who meant to twist it into something criminal and hound her to her death. It is unbelievable, but we know that it is fact, for it is the record of her enemies.

— Asked if she would like to have a woman's dress, she said:

"Give me one, and I will take it and go away from here. Otherwise I will not take it; and am content with this, since it pleases God that I wear it."

— Upon which we have ended all examination for this day, and have made appointment for Tuesday next to proceed with further interrogations.



## VI

FEBRUARY 27, THE FOURTH DAY OF EXAMINATION.

"I SAW THEM WITH THE EYES OF MY BODY,  
AS WELL AS I SEE YOU, YOURSELF"

THE castle of Philip Augustus in which Joan was confined was a huge affair, a collection of towers and courts and wings, a city in itself, like every royal château of that day. Among other appurtenances it had its chapel for general worship, located somewhere on the court through which the Maid passed from her prison tower to the *chambre de parement* for examination. Each morning conducted by Bailiff Massieu she went clanking across the stone court, being thus for a brief moment under the open sky. Of one of those mornings Massieu says:

"Once as I conducted her before the judges Joan asked me if there was not on the way some church or chapel in which was the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ. I told her that there was, and showed her a chapel situated under the château, near our way. Joan at once requested me to let her pass before it, that she might there salute God, and pray. I consented willingly, and allowed her to kneel before the chapel. Bowed to the ground, Joan devotedly said her prayers. This fact having come to the ears of my lord of Beauvais he was displeased by it and ordered me not to tolerate such prayers in future. The promoter, Bénédicté [d'Estivet, the prosecutor] on his part addressed to me many reprimands.

“ ‘You beggar!’ said he. ‘How dare you, without leave, allow this excommunicate harlot to approach the church? I will put you in a tower where you will see neither the sun nor the moon for a month, if you permit this again!’”

“Nevertheless, I did not heed his threat. The promoter, learning of this, several times placed himself before the door of the chapel to prevent Joan’s orisons.”<sup>1</sup>

On the Maid’s fourth day of examination, February 27, fifty-five black-robed men awaited her appearance. Cauchon at once commanded her to tell the truth on whatever concerned the process. She answered:

“I will willingly swear to tell the truth on whatever touches the process, but not concerning all that I know.”

— Again we have required her to swear to answer the truth to whatever would be asked her. Replied as before, saying:

“You must be content; I have sworn enough.”

— Then on our order, Jean Beaupère, before mentioned, began her examination. And in the beginning asked her how she had been since last Saturday. She replied [probably indicating her chains]:

“You see well how I have been. I have done the best that I could.”

“Do you intend to fast during all the days of Lent?”

“Is that in your process?”

— Being told that it was, she said:

“Yes, truly, I have fasted each day of this Lent.”

“Since Saturday have you heard the Voice that comes to you?”

"Yes, certainly, many times."

"Did you hear it on Saturday in this room?"

"That is not of your process." She added that she had heard it.

"What did it say to you on Saturday?"

"I did not hear it well, and heard nothing that I can tell you until I return to my room."

"What did your Voice say to you in your room?"

"It told me that I should answer you boldly. I asked counsel of the Voice on the questions that you would put to me."

— She further said that she would willingly tell what God would permit her to reveal; but touching the revelations concerning the King of France she will not tell them without permission of her Voice.

"Did your Voice forbid you to tell everything?"

"I did not well understand that."

"What did your Voice finally say to you?"

"I asked counsel on certain points of your examinations."

"Did the Voice give you counsel on these points?"

"On some I had counsel; on others I could not reply without permission. And if I replied without permission, perhaps I could not count on the Voice. But having the permission of Our Lord I shall not fear to speak, for I shall have good assurance."

"Was it the voice of an angel that spoke to you, or the voice of a *saint*, or *sainte*, or was it the direct voice of God?"

"It was the voice of Saint Catherine and Saint Marguerite, and they were crowned with beautiful

crowns, most rich and most precious. And for this I have permission of Our Lord. If you doubt it, send to Poitiers where I was formerly examined."

"How did you know that they were these two saints? And how did you tell one from the other?"

"I knew them well, and could easily tell them apart."

— Asked how she was able to distinguish them, replied that she recognized them by the salutations they made to her. Said further that it was seven years since these Voices had begun to direct her; also that she recognized the saints because they named themselves to her.

"Were the saints dressed in the same material?"

"I will tell you nothing more now, and I have not permission to reveal that. If you do not believe me, go to Poitiers." Said further that there were revelations which were for the King of France, and not for those who questioned her.

"Are your saints of the same age?"

"I have not permission to say."

"Did your saints speak together, or one after the other?"

"I have not permission to tell you; nevertheless, I often have counsel from both."

"Which appeared to you first?"

"I did not distinguish them immediately. There was a time when I knew them well. Then I forgot their individual faces. If I had permission, I would tell you willingly. And it is all set down in the record at Poitiers."<sup>1</sup> She added that she had received comfort from Saint Michael.

"Which of your apparitions first came to you?"

"Saint Michael was first to come."

"Is it long since you heard the voice of Saint Michael?"

"I do not speak of the voice of Saint Michael; I speak of the great comfort received from him."

"Which was the first Voice that came to you, when you were about thirteen?"

"It was Saint Michael that I saw before my eyes; and he was not alone, but accompanied by many angels of Heaven." She said further that she had come to France by the commandment of God.

"Did you see Saint Michael and the angels corporeally, as in the flesh?"

"I saw them with the eyes of my body, as well as I see you, yourself; and when they went away from me I wept, and greatly wished they had taken me with them."

"Of what form or figure was Saint Michael?"

"I have nothing to say yet, as to that. I have not yet permission."

"What did Saint Michael say to you the first time?"

"You will not have the answer to that today."

— *Item*: Said that the Voice had told her to reply boldly, and further, that she had once told the King all that had been revealed to her, because it concerned him. Nevertheless, she has not at present permission to tell what Saint Michael has said to her. Said also that she greatly wished her examiner had a copy of the book [record] that is at Poitiers, provided that it was the pleasure of God.

"Did your Voices tell you not to divulge their revelations without their permission?"

"Again I cannot answer; on whatever I have permission I will reply willingly. I have not clearly understood whether my Voices have forbidden me or not."

"What sign can you give that this revelation comes from God, and that these are truly Saints Catherine and Margaret who speak to you?"

"I have told you enough that they are Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret; you may believe me if you will."

"How do you know that you can reply on some points, and on others not?"

"On some things I have asked permission, and on some things I have received it." She added that she would rather have been drawn by horses than to have come to France without the permission of God; that is to say, drawn and quartered.<sup>1</sup>

— Asked if it was he who had ordered her to take the dress of a man, replied that dress is of small things the least. But that she has not taken man's dress by the advice of anyone whomsoever; that she has not taken this dress nor done any other thing except by the commandment of God and His angels.

"Do you think the commandment given you to dress as a man is lawful?"

"All that I have done has been by the commandment of God; and if He had ordered me to take another I would have taken it, since it would have been by the commandment of God."

"Did you take it by order of Robert de Baudricourt?"



They were trying to wear her down, to exasperate her; she answered simply:

“No.”

— Asked if she believed she had done well to take the dress of a man, replied that all that she has done by the commandment of God she believes to have done well, and that she expects from it good support and help.

“Do you believe that in this particular case you did well in taking the dress of a man?”

“I have done nothing except by the commandment of God.”

“When you saw the Voice that came to you was there light?”

“There was great light everywhere, as was suitable.” Said also to her questioner that all the light did not come for her alone.

“Was there an angel over the head of your King when you saw him for the first time?”

“By Our Lady! If there was, I did not know it and I did not see it.”

“Was there light?”

“There were more than three hundred men-at-arms [*milites*] and fifty torches, without counting the spiritual light. And I rarely have revelations that there is not light.”

— Asked how the King had faith in her words, replied that he had good signs, and through the clergy.

“What revelations had your King?”

“That you will not have from me this year.”

— *Item*: Said that during three weeks she was ques-

tioned by the clerks at Chinon and at Poitiers. Also, that her King had sign of her works before believing in her. And the clergy of her party agreed that they saw nothing but good in her purpose.

"Were you at St. Catherine de Fierbois?"

"Yes, and I heard three masses there in one day, and afterwards went to Chinon. From Fierbois I sent letters to the King, to ask if I should enter the city where he was; that I had traveled a hundred and fifty leagues to reach him, and knew many things for his good. And it seems to me that I said in these letters that I would know him among all the others.

"I had a sword that I had brought from Vaucouleurs. And while I was at Tours or at Chinon I sent for a sword that was in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, behind the altar, and soon after it was found, covered with rust."

"How did you know the sword was there?"

"This sword was in the earth, rusted, and it had five crosses on it. I knew it was there through my Voices. I never saw the man who went to bring it. I wrote the clergy of the place, asking if it was their good pleasure that I have this sword, and they sent it to me. It was not deep in the ground behind the altar, as it seems to me. I do not know for certain whether the sword was before the altar or behind it, but believe that I wrote the sword was behind the altar."

—She also said that as soon as the sword was discovered the men of the church there polished it and the rust at once fell away without requiring effort. It was an armourer of Tours who went in quest of it. The

clergy of the place gave her a sheath, and those of Tours then joined with them in having two sheaths made for her, one of red velvet and the other of cloth of gold. As for herself, she had another made for it, of leather, very strong. She added that when she was captured she did not have this sword. Said also that she constantly carried this sword from the time of receiving it until her departure from St. Denis, after the assault at Paris.

"What benediction did you say, or have said, on this sword?"

"I never said any, nor had any said. I would not have known how. I loved this sword well because it was found in the church of St. Catherine whom I loved so much."

"Were you at Coulange-la-Vineuse?"

"Not that I know of."

Coulange-la-Vineuse, a village near Auxerre, was one of several places where the Maid is supposed to have broken the sword of Fierbois belaboring camp hussies. That she testifies to having the sword until after leaving St. Denis sufficiently contradicts this fable.

— Asked if she sometimes laid her sword on an altar, to render it more fortunate, replied :

"No, not that I know of."

"Did you ever make prayers that your sword might be more fortunate?"

"It is good to know that I wished my arms to be fortunate."

"Did you have your sword when you were captured?"

"No, I wore one taken from a Burgundian."

"Where is the sword [of Fierbois] now; in what town?"

"I offered a sword and some armour at St. Denis, but not that sword."

— Said further that she had this sword at Lagny; and after Lagny, until Compiègne, she carried the sword of the Burgundian, which was a good war sword, suitable to give good buffets and smacks. As to where she had lost the other, that is not of the process, and she will not reply for the present. She added that her brothers have her belongings, horses, swords, as it seems to her, and other things to the value of more than 12,000 *écus*.

"When you went to Orleans, did you have a standard or banner, and of what colour?"

"I had a standard, the field of which was sown with lilies. There, also, was the figure of the world [the image of God, holding the world] and two angels at His sides. It was white in colour, of white linen, or *boucassin* [fustian]. There was inscribed on it these names, *Jesus Maria*, as it seems to me, and it was fringed with silk."

"Were the names *Jesus Maria* inscribed at the top or bottom of the banner, or along the side?"

"At the side, as it seems to me."

That Joan could not be quite positive as to the banner that had been so dear to her can only indicate that the strain of long imprisonment had told on her.

— Asked if she loved most her standard or her sword, replied :

"I loved my standard more; indeed, forty times more than my sword!"

"Who was it that caused you to have your banner thus painted?"

"I have told you enough that I have done nothing but by the commandment of God." Said further that when charging the adversaries she carried the banner herself, to avoid killing anybody; and added: "I have never killed a man."

"What company did your King give you when he put you in the field?"

"He gave me ten or twelve thousand men, and I marched at first to Orleans, to the battle of St. Loup, and then to the bastille of the bridge."

"From what bastille did you cause your men to retire?"

"I do not remember that. Through my revelations I was certain of raising the siege of Orleans, and said this to the King before going there."

"When the assault was to be made did you not tell your soldiers that you would receive the arrows, darts, and stone cannon-balls?"

"No, and there were a hundred wounded, and more. I said to my soldiers that they need have no fear that they would not raise the siege."

— Said further that at the assault of the bastille of the bridge she was wounded by an arrow, or javelin, in the neck, but had great comfort from Saint Catherine and was cured in a fortnight; and meantime did not cease to ride and attend to her duties.

— Asked if she knew that she was to be wounded,

replied that she knew it well, and had told her King of it, but nevertheless did not abandon the undertaking. And this had been revealed to her by the voices of both *saintes*; that is to say, the blessed Catherine and Margaret. Said further that she was first to set up a ladder at the bastille of the bridge, and that as she raised the said ladder was wounded in the neck, as stated, by a javelin.

"Why did you not accept a treaty with the captain at Jargeau?"

"The lords of my party replied to the English that they could not have the delay of fifteen days demanded, but that they should leave — they and their horses — forthwith. As for me, I said that those of Jargeau could go, in their *gippons* and tunics [clothing worn under the armour] saving their lives, if they liked. Otherwise they would be captured by assault."

"Did you have consultation with your Voices, as to whether you would give delay or not?"

"I do not remember as to that."

— This concluded, the examination was adjourned to a later date, and we have designated Thursday [next day but one] as the date on which to proceed with the interrogatories.

It had been a rather futile session. Reading over the testimony today there would seem to be in it little enough on which to condemn a human being to the stake. Cauchon would take a day in which to discover the weak points and develop new lines of inquiry. Joan's answers quickly circulated through Rouen and public sympathy for her was growing. Witnesses at



the Revision spoke of this sympathy, and of the animosity felt toward the bishop and his court. Cauchon well knew of these things; and what with the open mutiny of de Houppeville and a variety of smaller irritations he must have been in anything but a pleasant frame of mind. The blundering Massieu seemed determined to annoy him. About this time he was indiscreet enough to express an opinion. The bailiff himself tells the story:

"On the fourth or fifth day of the trial, as I led Joan from the tribunal to her prison, a priest named Eustache Turquetil, lay clerk of the chapel of the King of England, questioned me in these words:

" 'How do you find her answers? Will she burn? What will happen?'

"I answered him:

" 'So far, I have seen only good and honour in her, and know nothing reprehensible. But I do not know what the end will be. God knows that.'

"This reply was reported to the King's people by the priest. It was said that I was not for the King, and I was sent for after dinner by my lord of Beauvais. The bishop spoke to me of these things and rated me very severely, advising me to take good care, or I would be made to drink more than was reasonable. It even seemed that if it had not been for the recorder, Manchon, who excused me, I would hardly have escaped, but been thrown into the Seine."

The water cure seems to have been Cauchon's favourite remedy. Perhaps he never really dared to employ it, but he rarely failed to recommend it.

It is noticeable that while Jean de Lafontaine had been named by the bishop as chief examiner, he had thus far not been invited to exercise the functions of that office. De Lafontaine was in fact a mere item in Cauchon's display of respectability, a detail of his window-dressing, of which Manchon, Massieu, Lemaître — all of Rouen and highly respected — with possibly one or two others, constituted the exhibit. They gave him no end of trouble, and he must at times have been moved to drown the lot of them. He appears, however, to have thought them necessary as an offset to other things, as for instance allowing Joan to remain in the vile civil prison, an offence even to certain of his most ardent colleagues. Massieu says that some of the assessors "murmured that Joan was in English hands," saying "It is in the Church's hands that she ought to be." "Many were of this opinion, but none dared to speak," says Bishop Lefèvre, testimony echoed by others of the assessors, including Thomas de Courcelles, one of the Maid's most persistent prosecutors.

Another of the assessors, Brother Martin Ladvenu, says that in the beginning Cauchon asked those who assisted him, which was the most suitable, to keep Joan in the civil prison, or in the prisons of the Church? "It was held by them to be more decent to keep her in the ecclesiastical prisons than in the others. But the bishop forbade this, declaring that he would not do it, for fear of displeasing the English, and from the beginning of the process until the end he allowed her to be tormented and cruelly treated in the civil prison."

## VII

MARCH 1, THE FIFTH DAY. "BEFORE SEVEN YEARS  
THE ENGLISH WILL LOSE A GREATER PRIZE THAN  
THEY DID BEFORE ORLEANS"

CAUCHON may have thought Beaupère not sufficiently drastic in his probing, at all events not satisfactory, for at this point he delegated the examination to a kind of junta composed of several of the faithful — keen and bitter inquisitors who would cross-fire or volley at broadside in a way to render the average witness distracted and helpless, an easy victim. Beaupère had found the Maid anything but that. Twenty-five years later he declared that Joan was "very subtle, with the subtlety characteristic of women."

An assembly of nearly sixty greeted Joan on the morning of Thursday, March 1. Twice required to take the oath and finally sworn on her own terms, she said :

"Of what I know that touches the process I will willingly tell you the truth. I will tell you as much as I would tell if I were before the Pope of Rome."

Asked as to which Pope she believed to be the true one, there being at this time a schism in the Church, she replied :

"Are there two?"

"Did you not receive some letters from the Count of Armagnac, asking as to which of the three sovereign pontiffs he should obey?"

"The count wrote me on this subject, and I told him

among other things that when I should be in Paris or elsewhere, at rest, I would give him an answer. I was about to mount my horse when I made this reply."

— We then caused to be read a copy of the letters of the count and of the said Joan, and she was asked if the copy truly presented her response. Replied that she thought she had made this answer in part, not in all.<sup>1</sup>

"Did you say that you would know by the advice of the King of Kings what the count ought to do in this case?"

"I know nothing of that."

"Did you doubt as to whom the count should obey?"

"I did not know what to tell him as to this obedience; for the count asked to know whom God wished him to obey. As for myself I hold and believe that we should obey the Pope who is at Rome."

— Said also that she told the count's messenger other things than those contained in this copy of the letters, and that if the messenger had not retired promptly he would have been thrown into the water, though not by her will.

"Why did you write that you would reply elsewhere, since you believed in him who is at Rome?"

"My answer referred to other things than the matter of the three pontiffs."

— Asked if she had said that on the matter of the three sovereign pontiffs she would have counsel, replied that she had not written, nor caused anyone to write, on the matter of the three sovereign pontiffs.

This, if correctly reported, in view of the letter itself

and her partial admission of its contents, is puzzling. Possibly her denial turned on the expression "sovereign pontiffs," which does not appear in the letter, and was a paradox, it being impossible that there should be more than one pontiff who was sovereign.

"Was it your custom to put on your letters the names *Jesus Maria*, with a cross?"

"I put them on certain ones and not on others. Sometimes I put a cross there so that the one I wrote to would not do what I told him to do."

This curious statement is borne out by none of the existing letters. The Maid's letter to Bedford and others was here read. Asked if she recognized it, replied :

"Yes, except three things : where it says 'render to the Maid,' it should be 'render to the King'; and I did not say '*chef de guerre*,' nor '*corps pour corps*.' Those words were not in the letter I sent."

In her inability to read Joan could not have known what was in the letter as sent. Whether the words were really hers or supplied by the amanuensis may only be conjectured. She here explained that no lord dictated these letters, but that she herself dictated them, though they had been shown to certain of her party. Then she said :

"Before seven years the English will lose a greater prize than they did before Orleans ; and they will lose everything in France. They will have greater loss than ever they have had in France, and this will be through a great victory which God will send to the French."<sup>1</sup>

A prophecy like this out of the clear sky, coming from one whose prophecies were habitually fulfilled, would be upsetting to her examiners. They probably stormed at her, as they are known to have done more than once. The report, however, furnishes no account of these upheavals, preserving only the residue. It says that being asked how she knew this to be so, she said :

"I know it well by revelation that has been made to me, and before seven years it will happen. I was much vexed that it was put off so long.<sup>1</sup> I know this as well as I know that you are before me."

"When will this happen?"

"I know neither the day nor the hour."

"What year will it be?"

"You will not have that yet, but I wish it might be before St. John's Day" [June 24].

"Have you said that it would happen before St. Martin's winter Day?" [Nov. 11].

"I have said that before St. Martin's day one would see many things, and this could be that the English will be beaten to the ground."

"What did you say to John Gray, touching the feast of St. Martin's?"

"I have told you that."

"Through whom do you know this will happen?"

"Through Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret."

"Was Saint Gabriel with Saint Michael when he came to you?"

"I do not remember."

"Since last Tuesday have you spoken with Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret?"



"Yes, but I do not know at what hour."

"What day was it?"

"Yesterday and today. There is not a day that I do not hear them."

"Do you always see them in the same dress?"

"I see them always in the same form, and they are very richly crowned. Of their other dress I do not speak. I know nothing of their garments."

"How do you know whether your apparition is man or woman?"

"I know well; I can tell by their voices, and they have told me. I know nothing that is not by revelation and commandment of God."

"What features of them did you see?"

"I saw their faces."

"Do these saints who appear to you have hair?"

"It is good to know that they have."

"Have they anything between their crowns and their hair?"

"No."

"Is their hair long and pendant?"

"I do not know." She added that she did not know whether they had arms and other members. Said also that they spoke in good and beautiful language, and that she understood them perfectly.

"How could they speak, since they are without organs [*membra*]?"

"I leave that to God."

— *Item*: Said that the Voice is beautiful, sweet, and humble and speaks the language of France.

"Does Saint Margaret speak English?"

"Why should she speak English, since she is not of the party of the English?"

"Besides their crowns did they wear gold or other rings in their hair?"

"I do not know."

— Asked if she herself had any rings, she answered, speaking to us, bishop :

"You yourself have one of my rings. Give it to me. The Burgundians have another. If you have my ring, let me see it."

"Who gave you the ring that the Burgundians hold?"

"It was my father or my mother. And it seems to me it had on it the names *Jesus Maria*. I do not know who put them there. It had no stone, as it seems to me, and it was given to me at Domremy."

— Said further that her brother had given her the other ring, and we are charged to give it to the Church. Said she had never cured anyone by means of her rings [this evidently being in reply to a question, or several questions, not set down].

"Did Saints Catherine and Margaret speak to you under the tree before mentioned?"

"I do not know."

"Did they speak to you at the fountain, near the tree?"

"Yes, and I heard them well there; but what they then said I do not know any more."

"What did the saints promise, there or elsewhere?"

"They made me no promise that was not by the permission of God."

"What promise did they make to you?"

"That is not at all of your process."

That a tumult broke out here is indicated even by the report, which goes on to say that *among other things* the saints told her that the King would be restored, whether his adversaries wanted it or not; also, that they had promised to conduct her to paradise, and that this she had asked of them.

"Did they promise you anything else?"

"They made another promise, but of that I will not speak. It does not concern the process. Before three months I will tell it."

"Did the Voice tell you that before three months you will be delivered from prison?"

"That is not of your process. Nevertheless, I do not know when I shall be delivered."

— She said that those who wished to get her out of the world could well go before her.

"Did your counsel not tell you that you would be delivered from your present prison?"

"Ask me again in three months; then I will answer." And said further: "Ask the assessors on their oath if that concerns my trial?"

— Following a deliberation of the assessors, all of whom agreed that this concerned the process, she said:

"I have always told you that you would not know everything. There must, of course, come a day when I am delivered. But I wish permission to tell it to you. That is why I ask for delay."<sup>1</sup>

"Did your Voices forbid you to tell the truth?"

<sup>1</sup> This was on March 1. She was "delivered" May 30. The three months lacked two days.

"Do you wish me to tell you what concerns only the King of France? There are many things that do not concern the process. This I know well: that my King will regain the Kingdom of France. I know it as well as I know that you are here before me, as judges. I should be dead if it were not for the revelation that comforts me each day."

"What did you do with the mandragore?" [Mandrake, a charm supposed to work, or avert, evil.]

"I have no mandragore, and never had one. I have heard there was one near our village, I never saw it. I have heard that it is a bad and perilous thing to have about; and I do not know its use."

"Where is this mandragore that you have heard of?"

"I do not know where. I have heard that above it grows a hazel bush."

"What have you heard that this mandragore is good for?"

"I have heard say that it would bring money. But I have no faith in that. The Voices have never spoken of it."

"What form had Saint Michael when he appeared to you?"

"I did not see a crown, and I know nothing of his clothing."

"Was he naked?"

"Do you think the Lord has nothing with which to clothe him?"

"Did he have hair?"

"Why should it have been cut off?"

— Said also that she had not seen the blessed Saint Michael since quitting the château of Crotoy, and that she does not see him often. Said finally that she does not know if he has hair.

“Did Saint Michael have his scales [that is, with which to weigh souls]?”

“I know nothing of that.”

The reader must bear in mind, here and elsewhere, that the questions and answers were no longer in sequence, or asked separately, but were shot at her from every side, two or three at once, often unintelligible in their confusion. This was amply testified at the Revision.

“Many embarrassing questions were addressed to Joan,” says Bishop Lefèvre, always present, “but she came out of them not badly. The examiners interrupted the order of their queries, and passed from one subject to another, to see if she would contradict herself. Sometimes they mutilated their questions in such manner that it was scarcely possible for Joan to reply. The wisest man in the world with difficulty would have found what to say.”

Six of the doctors commonly examined Joan, according to Massieu, and their questions were frequently “cut off” (*fracta*) and asked three or four at once. “Thus before she had replied to one question, another interrupted to ask a new one, which tended to precipitate and upset her replies. Several times she said to them: ‘Fair lords, speak one after the other.’”

At this point, for instance, there must have been confusion. At least three interrogatives are not set

down, but only the summaries of Joan's answers, or remarks.

— *Item*: Said that she had great joy when she saw Saint Michael. It seemed to her that when she saw him she was not in mortal sin.

— *Item*: Said that Saints Catherine and Margaret at one time and another, willingly, had confessed her in turn.

— *Item*: Said that if she is in mortal sin she does not know it.

"In confessing did you believe yourself in mortal sin?"

"I do not know if I was in mortal sin, or not; but I do not believe I performed the works of mortal sin. Please God that I never fall into it. Please God that I never do, or have never done, works that may be laid against my soul!"

"What sign did you give your King that you came from God?"

"I have always told you that you will never have that from my lips. Go ask him."

"Have you sworn not to reveal what shall be asked you touching the process?"

"I have already told you that I will tell you nothing of what concerns our King; that which relates to our King I will not tell you."

"Don't you know the sign you gave to the King?"

"You will not know it from me." And being told that this pertained to the process: "Of what I have promised to keep secret I will tell you nothing." And said further:



"I have promised this in such a way that I cannot tell it without perjuring myself."

"To whom did you promise?"

"To Saints Catherine and Margaret ; and it [the sign] was shown to the King." Said further that she had promised it to the two saints without being required to do so. "I did it on my own account, because too many would have asked me about it if I had not promised the saints."

"Was there anyone in the King's company when you showed him the sign?"

"As I think, there was no one but himself, though at a little distance were many people."

The reader may recall that on the evening of Joan's presentation to the King at Chinon, she spoke to him secretly, apart from the others.

"Did you see a crown on the head of your King when you showed him the sign?"

"I may not tell you that without perjury."

"Did the King have a crown at Reims?"

"The King, as I think, willingly took the crown he found at Reims ; though one much richer was brought later. He did this to hurry matters, at the request of the people of Reims, to avoid the burden of keeping the army. And if he had waited he could have had a crown a thousand times richer."

"Did you see this richer crown?"

"I cannot tell you that without perjury. And if I have not seen it, I have heard that it is as rich as that, and as opulent."

— Whereupon we have ended for the day ; and we

have assigned for further proceedings, Saturday, at eight o'clock, morning, requiring the assistants to assemble in the same place, on the day and hour named.

It had been a long, hard day, and Joan, in Bishop Lefèvre's phrase, had come through "not badly," though toward the end she must have been near collapse.

"The doctors themselves went out of there very fatigued," says Lefèvre. All now would have a day of respite, if the horror and bedlam of Joan's prison warrant the term.

## VIII

MARCH 3, THE SIXTH DAY. "WHETHER THEY BELIEVE IT OR NOT, STILL I AM SENT FROM GOD"

NO more than forty members of the bishop's court assembled on the morning of Saturday, March 3, sixth day of the examination. This falling off may have been due in part to the "escape" of some of the assessors who found themselves out of sympathy with the proceedings.

"We attended the trial, but we were in a mind to fly," testified Canon Richard de Grouchet, speaking for himself and two associates.

There must have been some who did go, and some Cauchon drove away.

The Maid, on this morning as previously, urged to swear to speak the truth on all that should be asked of her, replied: "I am ready to swear as heretofore," and this time was not urged further, but permitted to swear in her own way, her hands on the Bible.

— Following this, as she had said that Saint Michael had wings,<sup>1</sup> and nevertheless had not spoken of the body and members of Saints Catherine and Margaret, she was asked what she had to say concerning them. To which she replied :

"I have told you what I know, and I will tell you nothing further about it." Said further that she had seen Saint Michael and the *saintes* equally well and knows certainly that they are of paradise.

"Have you seen more than their faces?"

"I have told you all that I know of that ; but rather than tell you all that I know I would prefer that you cut my head off. All that I know touching the process I will tell willingly."

"Do you believe Saint Michael and Saint Gabriel have natural heads?"

"I have seen them with my eyes, and I believe that they were these as firmly as that there is a God."

"Do you believe that God made them in the fashion and form you saw them?"

"Yes."

"Do you believe that from the beginning God created them in this fashion and form?"

"You will have nothing further for the present than what I have told you."

"Do you know by revelation that you will escape?"

"That is not of your process. Do you wish me to speak against myself?"

"Did your Voices tell you anything about it?"

"That is not of your process. I refer to the process. If everything concerned you, I would tell you everything."

— She said further that she does not know the day nor the hour that she will escape.

"Did your Voices say nothing to you of it in a general way?"

"Yes, truly, they have told me that I shall be delivered, and that bravely I show you a cheerful face."

"When you arrived before your King did he ask you if you had changed your dress by revelation?"

"I have replied as to that. However, I do not remember being asked the question. And it is recorded at Poitiers."

This confused answer was probably gathered piecemeal from a cross-fire of questions and replies. It was at some such time as this, and it must have been on this particular day, for it was his last regular appearance among the assessors, that Jean de Chatillon earned immortality. Manchon and Massieu both tell the story. Says Manchon:

"One day, during the examinations of Joan, Jean de Chatillon showed some favour for her by saying that the questions addressed to her were too difficult, and perhaps she was not held to answer. His criticism, the words of which I do not well remember, displeased the other assessors. They said to him several times to let them alone.

" 'It is necessary, however,' he replied to them, 'that I acquit my conscience.'

"Whereupon there was a great tumult. The Bishop of Beauvais said to de Chatillon:

" 'Silence! and let the judges speak.' At the same time it was intimated to him not to return to the sessions until such time as he was sent for."

Massieu says that de Chatillon's words to the judges were: "In such matters it is not necessary to proceed thus: you break our ears!" And that he told the bishop that the process was without value. Massieu was told to summons de Chatillon to no further sessions. De Chatillon, who had distinguished himself in the University of Paris and had a certain influence with

the English government, could hardly be threatened with the river.

Continuing the examination, the assessors now asked Joan :

"Do you remember that those of the other party who examined you questioned you as to your change of clothing?"

"I do not remember. However, they asked me where I had taken the habit of a man, and I told them that I had taken it at Vaucouleurs."

"Did they ask you if this was by the advice of your Voices?"

"I do not remember."

"Did not your King or Queen or others of your party sometimes ask you to lay off man's dress?"

"That is not of your process."

"At the castle of Beaurevoir were you not so requested?"

"Yes, truly, and I replied that I would not do it without permission of Our Lord."<sup>1</sup>

— *Item*: Said that the Demoiselle of Luxemburg and the lady of Beaurevoir offered her woman's clothing or cloth to make it, and requested that she wear it. And she replied that she had not permission of Our Lord; and that it was not yet time.

"Were you not at Arras, by Jean de Pressy and others, offered a woman's dress?"

<sup>1</sup> Up to this point the record is preserved only in Latin, translated from the original French minutes, making retranslation necessary. Following this, however, the original French minutes have survived, and the translation is made from them direct, with possibly some gain as to literal form and directness.



"He and several others several times asked that I take such a garment."

"Do you believe that you would have committed sin in taking woman's dress?"

"I do better to obey my sovereign Lord, and to serve Him." Said that if she had been obliged to do it, she would rather have done it at the request of these two ladies than of any other ladies in France, her Queen excepted.

"When God revealed to you that you should change the form of your dress, was it by the Voice of Saint Michael, or by that of Saint Catherine or Saint Margaret?"

"You will have nothing further on that, now."

"When the King first put you in the field and you had your standard made, did the soldiers and other men-at-arms have pennons made after the pattern of yours?"

"It is good to know that the lords kept their arms." She added: "Certain companions of war thus suited their pleasure [as to the pennons]; others not."

"Of what material did they have them made, linen or cloth?"

"They were of white satin, and on some of them were fleurs-de-lis. I had only two or three lances in my company, but our companions of war sometimes had pennons made of the pattern of theirs, this being only to tell them from the others."

"Were the pennons often renewed?"

"I do not know. When the lances were broken new pennons were made."

"Did you not say that pennons made like yours would be lucky?"

"What I did say was: 'Enter boldly among the English,' and I did this myself."

"Did you say to them that if they carried them boldly they would have good luck?"

"I told them plainly what would happen, and what will still happen."

"Did you sprinkle or cause to be sprinkled holy water on the pennons, when they were new?"

"I know nothing about that. If it was done, it was not by my order."

"Have you not seen holy water thus sprinkled?"

"That is not of your process. And if I have seen this done, I am not at present advised to reply concerning it."

"Did your companions of war have *Jesus Maria* put on their pennons?"

"By my faith, I know nothing about it!"

"Have you carried, or caused to be carried, in the form of a procession around an altar or church the material of which pennons were to be made?"

"I have not, and never saw it done."

"When you were at Jargeau, what was it you wore behind your helmet? Was it something round?"

"By my faith, there was nothing!"

"Did you know Brother Richard?"

"I had never seen him when I came before Troyes."

"What welcome did he give you?"

"The people of Troyes, as I think, sent him out to meet me, saying they doubted that I came from God.

As he came nearer to me he made the sign of the cross and sprinkled holy water. I said to him: 'Approach boldly, I will not fly away.' "

"Have you not seen, or caused to be made, pictures or paintings of yourself, and in your likeness?"

"I saw at Arras a painting by the hand of a Scot, a semblance of myself in full armour, kneeling on one knee and presenting letters to the King. I have never seen any other painting or picture of myself."

"Did you see at the home of your host a table on which was painted three women, inscribed: Justice, Peace, Union?"

"I know nothing about it."

"Do you not know that those of your party have offered service, mass, and prayer for you?"

"I know nothing of that. If they have done so, it has not been by my order; and if they have prayed for me, I believe they have done no wrong."

"Did those of your party believe firmly that you were sent from God?"

"I do not know if they believe it. I leave that to their conscience; but whether they believe it or not, still I am sent from God."<sup>1</sup>

"Do you not think that if they believe you were sent by God, they have a good belief?"

"If they believe that I was sent by God they are not deceived."

— Asked if she did not well know the sentiments of certain of her party when they kissed her hands and feet and clothing, replied that many persons were glad to see her, and that they kissed her hands and clothing,

but no more than she could help. She said that the poor came to her gladly, for the reason that she did not cause them unhappiness, but uplifted them as much as was in her power.

Replies like these circulating through Rouen could not improve the public's opinion of Cauchon's case. Such answers must have been recorded under protest. It is reported that once even an assessor called out:

"Joan, you speak well!"

The examiners changed their tack. They asked her what reverence was made her by those of Troyes, at her entry.

"They made me none." She added that she believed Brother Richard entered at the same time, but did not remember seeing him at the *entrée*.

"Did he deliver a sermon at the *entrée* on your coming?"

"I was there a very little while, and never slept there. As to the sermon, I know nothing."

"Were you several days at Reims?"

"I believe we were there four or five days."

"Did you lift up [at baptism] a child there?"

"I did at Troyes, but not at Reims that I remember, nor at Château-Thierry; also, two at St. Denis. And I willingly gave to the boys the name of Charles, in honour of the King; and Joan to the girls; and never except by the mother's wish."

"Did not the women of the town touch their rings to the ring that you wore?"

"Many touched my hands and my rings, but I do not know their belief or intention."

— Asked if those who caught butterflies before Château-Thierry in her standard were of her company, replied that it was never done or mentioned by her party, but that it was done by the other party, who invented it.

The meaning of this question and reply is lost today. It was probably an attempt to connect her with the working of some reported charm.

“What was it you did at Reims, where the King was crowned, in the matter of the gloves?”

“Gloves were given out to the knights and nobles present. One of them lost his gloves, but I did not say that I would cause him to find them.”

— *Item*: Said that her standard had been in the church at Reims, and it seems to her that it was quite near the altar. She herself held it a little, and does not know whether Brother Richard held it or not.

“When you went through the country and came to a good town, did you often receive the sacrament of confession and communion?”

“Yes, at once.”

“Did you receive the sacraments in the dress of a man?”

“I did, but I have no memory of having received them in armour.”

“Why did you take the horse from the Bishop of Senlis?”

“It was bought for two hundred *salus*. I do not know whether he received the money or not, but he had an order for the amount, hence must have received it. I wrote him that he could have the horse back,

if he wanted it, and that I did not want it, as it was of no value as a carrier."

— Asked how old the child was that she visited [treated] at Lagny, replied that the child was three days old, and was brought to Lagny, to Notre Dame. She was told that the maids of the town were in front of Notre Dame, and she wished to go there to pray to God and Our Lady to give it life. She went there and prayed with the others, and finally it showed signs of life and yawned three times ; then was baptized, and soon died and was buried in consecrated ground. There had been three days, as was said, that the child had shown no signs of life, and was as black as her coat, but when it yawned the colour commenced to return. She was on her knees in front of Notre Dame, saying her prayers.<sup>1</sup>

"Was it not said in the town that it was you who had done this, and that it was because of your prayer?"

"I did not inquire as to that."

"Do you know, or have you seen, Catherine de la Rochelle?"

"Yes, at Jargeau and Montfaucon, in Berry."

"Did she not show you a woman dressed in white, that she said appeared to her sometimes?"

"No."

"What did she say to you?"

"She said to me that there came to her a white lady, dressed in cloth of gold [*une dame blanche vestue de drap d'or*] who told her to go to the good towns, and that the King would give her heralds and trumpets, to summon whomsoever would have gold, silver, or



hidden treasure, so that they might bring it at once; and that those who did not do it, and who had such things hidden, she would know well and would know how to find the treasures, and that this would be to pay my soldiers.

"I told her that she should go back to her husband, and take care of her household and feed her children. And to know the truth of it I spoke to Saint Margaret or Saint Catherine, who told me that all concerning this Catherine was foolishness and nothing at all. I wrote to the King that I would tell him what he should do about it, and when I came to him I told that it was all folly, and that there was nothing to the case of this Catherine. Nevertheless, Brother Richard wished to make use of her, and both Brother Richard and Catherine were much displeased with me."

"Did you speak to Catherine de la Rochelle about going to La Charité?"

"Catherine advised me not to go there, saying that it was too cold and she would not go. Catherine wished to go to the Duke of Burgundy, to make peace with him. I said to her that it seemed to me that no peace could be made with him except at the point of the lance."<sup>1</sup>

— *Item*: Said that she asked this Catherine if the lady came to her every night; and for this reason she, Joan, would sleep with her. That she lay there and watched until midnight, and saw nothing, and then slept. And when morning came she asked if the lady had come, and was told that she had come while the said Joan was asleep and could not be wakened. Asked

if she would not come tomorrow Catherine replied that she would. For which reason Joan slept by day in order that she might keep awake at night. And the night following she spent with the said Catherine and watched all night, but saw nothing, however much or often she asked her : "Will she not come?" To which the said Catherine replied : "Yes, soon."

"What did you do at the *fosses* of La Charité?"

"I ordered an assault." She added, probably in reply to a question : "I did not sprinkle holy water or cause it to be sprinkled."

"Why did you not enter, since you had the commandment of God?"

"Who told you that I had the commandment of God to enter there?"

"Did you not have the counsel of your Voice?"

"I wished to come to France [north of the Loire, near Paris], but the men-at-arms said it was better to go first against La Charité."

"Were you long in the tower of Beaurevoir?"

"I was there four months, or about that ; and when I knew that the English were coming I was much wrought up [*moult courroucée*]. Nevertheless, my Voices several times forbade me to jump. At last, through dread of the English, I commended myself to God and Our Lady, and jumped, and was injured. And when I had jumped, the voice of Saint Catherine bade me be of good cheer, and said that I would be cured, and that those of Compiègne would have succour. I prayed always with my council for those of Compiègne."

...

“What did you say after you had jumped?”

Apparently she did not understand the question, for she answered :

“Some said that I was dead ; and as soon as it appeared to the Burgundians that I was alive, they told me I had jumped.”

“Did you not say that you would rather die than be in the hands of the English?”

“I would rather give my soul to God than be in the hands of the English.”<sup>1</sup>

“Did you not become very angry, and did you not blaspheme the name of God?”

“I never cursed either *saint* or *sainte*, and it is not my custom to swear.”

— Asked concerning Soissons, whose captain had surrendered it, if she had not said, denying God, that if she had this captain she would have him cut in four pieces, replied that she had never denied any *saint* or *sainte*, and that those who said so, or made such a report, had misunderstood.

It is noticeable here that Joan does not deny saying that if she could lay hands on the traitor Bournel she would have him drawn and quartered, the exact punishment to which, under the law, he was entitled.

Here came to an end another tiresome day, and with it Joan's semi-public examinations. The *beau procès* was going none too well. The Maid's answers and the court proceedings were the talk of Rouen and public dissatisfaction was growing. A beadle of Rouen, Mauger Leparmentier, at the Revision, testified :

“By common voice and opinion all that was done

against Joan was through hatred of the King of France and the cause that she supported. 'Joan is being done a great injustice,' people said."

The dissatisfaction was not entirely outside of the court. There was, as we have seen, murmuring and even protest among the assessors. Nor did the privileged audience always keep still. Jean Tiphaine, assessor and doctor of medicine, tells an incident not included in the report.

"I remember perfectly that Master Jacques Touraine once asked Joan if she had ever been in a place where English were killed. To which she answered: 'In God's name, of course! How softly you speak! Why didn't they leave France and go into their own country?'

"There was present a great lord, whose name does not come to me. On hearing these words he said:

" 'Truly, this is a good woman. If she were only English! ' "

The great lord was probably not Warwick, nor the Earl of Stafford, who was of another mind, having once tried to stab the Maid in her prison. Stafford was always ready with his weapons. Manchon gives an instance of this:

"Someone, I do not know whom, having expressed himself concerning Joan in a manner that Lord Stafford found displeasing, the said lord drew his sword and with the naked blade pursued the man as far as a sacred and privileged place. Had it not been for the sanctity of the place he would have struck him down."

Manchon does not say so, but this must have hap-

pened on the street. Even a court like Cauchon's could hardly abide such an exhibition.

It may have been the protest of Jean de Chatillon that decided the bishop to condense his forces, or it could have been the matter of Jean Lohier, referred to by several witnesses. The best of them, Manchon, tells it quite fully :

"It happened after the commencement of the trial that Jean Lohier, notable Norman clerk, came to Rouen. The Bishop of Beauvais sent for him and asked him his opinion on the action against Joan. What reply he made I do not know, not having been present. But the next day I met Master Lohier in the church of Notre Dame of Rouen, and asked him :

" 'Have you seen the trial?'

" 'I have seen it,' he answered me. 'It is of no value. Impossible to sustain it, for several reasons. First, it lacks the form of a regular process ; second, it is carried on in the château, behind closed doors, where judges and assessors not being in safety have not full and entire liberty to say purely and simply what they wish ; third, the process concerns several persons who are not summoned to appear, and notably there is brought into question the honour of the King of France to whose party Joan belonged, without citing the King or his representative ; fourth, neither documents nor articles have been given, and this woman who is a simple girl is left without counsel, to reply to so many lawyers and such great doctors, and in matters so grave, especially concerning her revelations. For all these reasons the process seems to me not valuable.'



"He further added: 'You see how they are proceeding. They will catch her, if they can, by her words. They will gain an advantage from her assertions where she says: "I know for certain," on the subject of her apparitions. But if she said: "It seems to me," in the place of "I know for certain," my opinion is that there is no man who could condemn her. I perceive well that they act more through hatred than through any other sentiment. They intend to put Joan to death. I shall remain here no longer, and I shall not go there again.'

"In fact, my lord of Beauvais was highly incensed against Lohier. Nevertheless, he pressed him to remain to note the conduct of the trial, to which Lohier replied that he would not. Immediately the Bishop of Beauvais, then lodged in the house where at present lives Master Jean Bidault, near Saint-Nicolas-the-Painter, looked up Master Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine, Nicolas Midi, Pierre Maurice, Thomas de Courcelles, and Loiseleur.

" 'Here is Lohier, trying to put beautiful interlocutories into our process,' he said to them. 'He wishes to calumniate everything, and says the process is of no value. If we would believe that, we must commence all over again, and all that we have done would be worth nothing. It is easy to see which foot he limps on. By Saint Jean, we will do nothing about it, but will continue our process as begun!'

"This took place after dinner of a Saturday in Lent. The next morning Master Lohier had with me the interview I have given. The same day he left Rouen.



He no longer dared remain in the city, under authority of the English ; and in fact lived after that at the Court of Rome, where he died *doyen de rote*." <sup>1</sup>

It was on that same "Saturday in Lent" that Cauchon brought the semi-public hearings to a close. The process was continued, but not "as begun." There were no more hearings of any sort for a week and when they were resumed it was not in the fine state chamber, but in the dim and fetid seclusion of Joan's prison.



SIGNATURE OF GUILLAUME MANCHON

(Facsimile from Wallon)

## IX

### MARCH 10, THE SEVENTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. JOAN QUESTIONED IN PRISON. THE SIGN

JOAN'S examinations were hereafter to be conducted in the strictest privacy. The report does not say this; it merely says that the evidence so far taken is to be collated, and if it is necessary to question the Maid further it will be done by "certain ones that we, Bishop, shall appoint, without inconveniencing the rest of the assessors," who are to have copies of the proceedings upon which they can deliberate, maturely and wholesomely (*maturius et salubrius*) at opportune times and places, with the privilege of referring to "us," Cauchon, when they feel the need of advice as to their opinions. What could be more reasonable, more just?

There was, however, one small drawback: the assessors knew what opinion was expected of them. They could dissent, of course, but for those who did, the river was waiting. "We gave our opinions being struck with fear, threatened, and terrified," says de Grouchet, a confession echoed by many others. "We are obliged to satisfy the English," said Pierre Maurice and others. "Our trial will proceed rapidly, and reasons will be found for putting Joan to death." <sup>1</sup>

The *beau procès* had become a modest, even shabby affair. The great public trial, begun with fanfare and display in the royal chapel of the castle, with sixty or more assessors, had shrunk to a closed hearing

in its foul jail with an attendance of no more than seven, including bailiffs and secretaries. Whether John Gray and his *housepilleurs* were present, the report does not state. It says:

"The Saturday following, March 10, we, bishop, went to a room of the castle of Rouen which had been assigned to Joan as a prison, and there assisted by Master Jean de Lafontaine, our Commissioner,<sup>1</sup> and some venerable doctors in sacred theology, Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, in the presence of Jean Secard, advocate, and Master Jean Massieu, we required the said Joan to make oath to tell the truth, on what should be asked her. She replied, saying:

"I promise you that I will tell the truth on what concerns your process; and the more you force me to swear, the later I will tell you."

Joan in chains probably sat on her bed, the half dozen black-robed men on stools and benches grouped about her. The light was dim; the notaries may have had candles. She was not required to swear. Lafontaine said:

"By the oath that you have taken, when you came to Compiègne from what place had you set out?"

"From Crépy-en-Valois."

"When you came to Compiègne was it several days before you made any sortie?"

"I came there at a secret hour of the morning, and entered the town — the enemy, I think, scarcely knowing it. And on the same day, toward evening, made the sortie in which I was taken."

"Were the bells rung when the sortie was made?"

"If they were rung, it was not by my order or knowledge. I did not think about it, and do not remember having said that they should be rung."

As the sortie was to be a surprise, it seems unlikely that such an order was given; unless, indeed, by de Flavy as a signal to the English and Burgundian camps.

"Did you make the sortie by commandment of your Voices?"

"During the week of last Easter, being at the *fosses* of Melun, I was told by my Voices — that is to say, Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret — that I would be taken before Saint John's Day, and that it was necessary that this should happen; that I must not be astonished, and must accept it willingly, and that God would aid me."

"Were you not told after Melun that you would be taken?"

"Yes, several times; so to speak, every day. I asked of my Voices that when I was taken I might die soon without long suffering in prison. They told me I must accept all in good will, and that this must be, but they did not tell me the time. If I had known it, I would not have gone out. Several times I asked to know the time, but they did not tell me."

"If your Voices had asked you to make the sortie and signified that you would be taken, would you still have gone?"

"If I had known the time, and that I must be taken, I would not have gone willingly. Nevertheless, in the end I would have obeyed their command, whatever would happen to me."



COMPIÈGNE





*Above:* GATE OPENING TO THE OLD BRIDGE, COMPIÈGNE  
*Left;* OLD HOUSES, COMPIÈGNE. *Right:* ANCIENT  
 CHATEAU, CRÉPY-EN-VALOIS



"When you made this sortie was it by order of your Voices?"

"On this day I did not know I was to be captured and had no order to go out, but it had been told me before that I was to be taken prisoner."

"To make this sortie did you go by the bridge?"

"I went by the bridge and by the *boulevard*, and led the men of my party against the troops of my lord of Luxemburg, and repulsed them twice, as far as the Burgundian camp, and the third time half-way. Then the English who were there cut off the road to me and my men, between me and the *boulevard*. Because of this my men retreated and in retiring to the adjoining fields, toward Picardy, near to the *boulevard*, I was taken. The river was between Compiègne and the place where I was taken. And there was only between Compiègne and the place where I was taken, just the river, the *boulevard*, and the moat of the said *boulevard*." <sup>1</sup>

"On this standard of yours is the world painted, and two angels?"

"Yes, and I never had but one."

"What significance was there in the figure of God holding the world, and the two angels?"

"Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret told me to take it boldly, and to carry it boldly, and to have painted on it the King of Heaven; and this I told my King, but very unwillingly. Of the significance I know nothing."

Asked if she had not a shield and coat of arms, replied that she had never had these; but that her King gave arms to her brothers, that is to say, a shield of azure,

two fleurs-de-lis of gold, with a sword between; and in this city she has described these arms to a painter, because he had asked her what arms she had. She added that this was given by her King to her brothers, to please them; without her request, and without revelation.

"Did you have a horse, courser, or hack when you were taken?"

"I had a horse, a half-courser, on which I was mounted when taken."

"Who gave you this horse?"

"My King; or his people gave me the King's money; and I had five coursers from the King's money, not counting the trotters, of which there were more than seven."

"Did you ever have rich gifts from the King other than horses?"

"I asked nothing of my King except good arms, good horses, and money to pay the people of my household."

— Asked if she had no treasure, replied that the ten or twelve thousand [*écus*] that she had was no great treasure with which to conduct war, but a small matter, and thinks her brothers have the property; and said that what she has properly belongs to the King.

"What was the sign that came to your King?"

"It is beautiful and honoured and well-believable; and it is good and the most rich there is."

If Joan meant anything here, it was the word she had brought to the King of his legitimacy. But as will be immediately apparent, Joan's mental balance on the subject of the sign was by this time seriously dis-

turbed, her answers confused, extravagant, and meaningless. Many explanations have been given for her seemingly fantastic inventions, nobody offering the obvious one, that her mind on this subject was quite upset, the wonder being that it remained steadfast on any. One or more indications of her illusion have already been noted. In the answers which follow it is only too manifest.

— Asked why she was not willing to tell and to show this sign, when she had required the sign of Catherine de la Rochelle, replied that if the sign of Catherine had been, like hers, shown before notable persons of the Church, and others, archbishops and bishops; that is to say, before the Archbishop of Reims and other bishops of whom she does not know the names (and even there were Charles of Bourbon,<sup>1</sup> the Sire La Trémouille, the Duke of Alençon, and several other knights, who saw it and heard it as well as she sees those who speak to her today) as *her* sign above mentioned was shown, she would not have asked to know the sign of the said Catherine. And moreover she already knew by Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret that to the case of the said Catherine de la Rochelle there was nothing whatever.

“Does the said sign still exist?”

“It is good to know that it will last for a thousand years and more.”

— *Item*: Said this sign was in the King's treasury.

“Is it gold, silver, precious stones, or a crown?”

“I will tell you nothing further of it, and no man would know how to describe anything so rich as this

sign. And furthermore the sign that you need is that God deliver me from your hands ; it would be the most certain that He could send you."

— *Item*: Said that when she was obliged to go to her King, it was said to her by her Voices :

"Go boldly ; so that when thou shalt be before thy King, he will have good sign to receive thee, and to believe." <sup>1</sup>

"When the sign came to your King, what reverence did you make, and was this sign from God?"

"I thanked Our Lord that he delivered me from the weariness of the clerks of his party who argued against me, and knelt several times."

— *Item*: Said that an angel of God and no other gave the sign to the King, and that she many times thanked Our Lord for it. Said that the clerks ceased to argue when they had known the said sign.

"Did the churchmen about you see the sign?"

"When the King and those who were with him had seen the sign, and even the angel who brought it, I asked the King if he was satisfied, and he replied that he was. And then I left and went into a little near-by chapel, and I heard it said that after my departure more than three hundred persons saw the sign." Said further that through love of her, and because they ceased questioning her, God wished to permit those of her party who saw the sign, to do so.

"Did the King and yourself make no reverence to the angel who brought the sign?"

"Yes, I knelt and made reverence to the angel, and uncovered myself."

Here for the day the examination ended. Joan in her right mind would have been the last person to invent such a romance as she had begun about the sign. First, because her habit was truth; second, because her normal good sense would tell her that a tale of signs and wonders would be the very thing that her persecutors would fasten upon to her undoing. Her story seems to be a rather aimless allegory in which her secret message to the King is confused with a radiant crown, and herself with the angel who brings it. Some memory of the Archbishop of Embrun's reference to her as an "angel of the Lord" may have been partly responsible for this, but far more was it due to the long months of mental and physical misery. The strain had been too great; she had developed an illusion, an infirmity that would aid in delivering her to her enemies; though for that matter whatever she might say would make little difference in the end.

## X

MARCH 12, EIGHTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. "THEY COME MANY TIMES AMONG CHRISTIANS WHEN THEY ARE NOT SEEN"

THE examinations continued in the prison, the next being held on Monday, March 12. Being as usual requested to swear on all points, Joan made her usual reply, and was not further pressed. By Cauchon's command de Lafontaine questioned her.

— Asked if the angel who brought the sign did not speak, replied that he did, and that he said to the King that he should make use of her, and that the country would soon be relieved.

"Was the angel who brought the sign the one who formerly appeared to you, or was this another?"

"It is always the same one, and has never failed me."

"Has the angel not failed you in allowing you to be captured?"

"Since it is pleasing to Our Lord, I believe it for the best that I was taken."

"In the gifts of grace has not the angel failed you?"

"How has it failed me when it comforts me every day?" She added that this comfort comes from Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret.

Here again we have the normal Joan; it is only at mention of the sign that she leaves us.

"Do you call the saints, or do they come to you?"

"They come often of themselves; at other times if they do not come soon, I asked the Lord to send them."



"Have you ever called them when they did not come?"

"I have never had need of them that I did not have them."

"Has Saint Denis ever appeared to you?"

"Not that I know."

"When you promised Our Lord to keep your virginity did you speak to him?"

"It was sufficient to promise those who were sent by him; that is to say, Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret."

"Did you have a man summoned to Toul in the cause of marriage?"

"I did not have him cited; it was he who had me cited. And I swore there before the judge to tell the truth. I had never made him any promise."

— *Item*: Said that the first time she heard her Voice she vowed her virginity for so long as it pleased God. And was at the age of thirteen, or thereabout. Said that her Voices assured her that she would win the case at Toul.

"Did you not speak to your priest of your visions, or to someone else in the Church?"

"No, but only to Robert de Baudricourt and the King. I was not compelled by my Voices to conceal them, but I was much afraid to reveal them through dread of the Burgundians, who might prevent my journey. And I especially feared that my father would prevent my going."

"Since one must honour father and mother, do you believe it was well to go without their permission?"

"In everything I have obeyed them well, except in this going, and I have since written to them, and they have pardoned me."

"When you left your father and mother, do you think you sinned?"

"Since God had commanded it, it was right to do it." Said further, that since God had commanded it, had she had a hundred fathers and a hundred mothers, and had she been the daughter of a king, still would she have gone.

— Asked if she had asked her Voices if she should tell her father and her mother of her departure, replied that as to her father and her mother, the saints were willing enough that she should tell them, except for the sorrow that they would have caused her. As for herself, she would not have told them for anything. Her Voices left it with her whether to tell her father or mother, or to keep it silent.

"When you saw Saint Michael and the angels did you do them reverence?"

"Yes, and after their departure kissed the earth where they had stood, making them reverence."

"Did the angels remain long with you?"

Perhaps not hearing correctly, she answered :

"They come many times among Christians when they are not seen ; I have often seen them among Christians."

"From Saint Michael or your Voices did you ever have any letters?"

"I have not permission to tell you. Within eight days I will reply willingly as to what I know of that."

"Have your Voices not called you: 'Daughter of God, daughter of the Church, daughter of the great heart'?"

"Before the siege of Orleans was raised, and afterwards, every day, when they spoke to me, they often called me 'Joan the Maid, daughter of God.'"

"Since you call yourself daughter of God why do you not willingly say the *Pater Noster*?"

"I do say it, willingly; formerly, when I refused to say it, it was my intention that my lord of Beauvais should confess me."

The session ended here, but on this day an afternoon session was held. Present, besides the bailiff and notaries, Cauchon and de Lafontaine, with two faithful co-workers in the cause, Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet; also, two doctors in canonical law not before in attendance. From day to day the board of examiners remained in numbers about the same, with slight changes in its personnel.

### *March 12, Afternoon*

Joan was asked by de Lafontaine:

"What were the dreams your father had before you left home?"

"When I was still with my father and mother, it was told me several times by my mother that my father said that he dreamed that I would go with the soldiers. For this reason my father and mother guarded me with great care, and held me in great subjection. I obeyed them in everything, except as to the process of Toul, in the matter of the marriage."<sup>1</sup>

— *Item*: Said that she had heard from her mother that her father had said to her brothers: "If I believed the thing I dreamed of her would happen, I would wish that you might drown her, and if you did not do it I would drown her myself!" Said that her parents nearly lost their minds when she left to go to Vaucouleurs.

"Did these thoughts or dreams come to your father after you had your visions?"

"Yes, more than two years after I heard the first Voices."

"Was it by wish of Robert de Baudricourt or of yourself that you took the habit of a man?"

"Of myself, and not by the request of anyone in the world."

"Did your Voices command you to take man's dress?"

"All that I have done well I have done by commandment of the Voices. As to this dress, I will reply concerning it another time. For the present I have not been advised, but will reply to it tomorrow."

"In taking the dress of a man did you think you were doing wrong?"

"I did not, and I still think that if I were with the other side, and in this costume, it would be for the great good of France to do as I did before my capture."

"How would you have delivered the Duke of Orleans?"

"I would have taken enough English to exchange for him; and if I had not taken enough I should have crossed the sea in force to seek him in England."

“Did Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret say absolutely and without condition that you would take men enough to ransom the Duke of Orleans who is in England, or that otherwise you would cross the sea to bring him within three years?”

“Yes, and I asked the King to let me have my way as to the English lords who were then prisoners.” Said further that if she had lasted three years without interference she would have delivered the duke. Said that the term had been shorter than three years, and longer than a year, but at present she does not remember it.

“What was the sign given your King?”

“I will have counsel on this from Saint Catherine.”

## XI

MARCH 13, NINTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. "IT PLEASED GOD THROUGH A SIMPLE MAID TO DRIVE OUT THE ADVERSARIES OF THE KING"

THE reluctant Jean Lemaître, Vice Inquisitor of Rouen, here received what was nothing short of command to take active part in the proceedings.

"This being accomplished," says the report, "we, bishop, and Brother Jean Lemaître, have by consequence and of a common accord, proceeded to interrogate the said Joan, as had been previously commenced."

— And first, by our order, Joan was asked concerning the sign which she had given to her King. To which she replied :

"Would you like to have me perjure myself?"

"Have you sworn and promised not to reveal the sign?"

"I have sworn and promised not to reveal the sign ; and on my own account, for the reason that I was so much besought to tell it." She added, to herself [*dit à elle-même*] : "I promise that I will not speak of it again to anybody."

Here for the moment we have Joan seemingly quite straight as to the sign, but an instant later we lose her again. Apparently forgetting the words just uttered, she said the sign was, that the angel certified to her King by bringing him the crown, saying to him that he would have all the kingdom of France entirely by the



aid of God and by means of her efforts ; and that he should use her, that is to say, he should give her soldiers, otherwise he would not be so soon crowned and anointed.<sup>1</sup>

Here the allegory has a semblance of form. She is the angel through whom Saint Michael speaks to the King. Asked if since yesterday she had spoken to Saint Catherine, she answered that she had heard her, and that she several times told her that she should reply boldly to the judges on what they should ask her touching the process.

“In what manner did the angel bring the crown, and did he place it on the head of the King?”

“It was delivered to an archbishop ; that is to say, to him of Reims, as it seems to me, in the presence of the King. And the archbishop received it and delivered it to the King. I myself was present, and it was put in the treasury of the King.”

“To what place was the crown brought?”

“This was in the royal chamber, at the castle of Chinon.”

“What was the day and hour?”

“Of the day I do not know, but as to the hour it was high hour. Otherwise I have no memory of the hour ; and of the month, it was the month of April or March, as it seems to me — the month of April next, or in this present month, two years ago, and it was after Easter.”

It had been in March, at night, three weeks *before* Easter, that she met the King at Chinon. It was in July at a “high hour” that he was crowned at Reims. She no longer separated the events. It has been sug-

gested that Joan was trifling with her judges. Such an assumption is unworthy, and to the last degree improbable. Joan was not in a position to trifle, and she was wise enough, when her mind was clear, to realize that it was exactly such contradictory testimony and tales that would bring her to the stake.

Curiously enough, her memory remained clear on most things, marvellously so on the confused details of her trial. Many witnesses testify as to this. One of them, a canon of Rouen, said :

"She had a fine memory. Sometimes when she was questioned on some point, she said : 'I have replied to that before, and in such a manner.' She made the notary look up the day where she had answered, and all was found to be as she had declared, nothing more and nothing less. This astonished me in view of her age, for she was very young."

The questions that would draw out Joan's unhappy fantasy went on.

"The first day that you saw the sign did the King see it?"

"Yes, and he had it himself."

"Of what material was this crown?"

"It is good to know that it was of fine gold, and was so rich that I would not know how to tell its richness ; and it meant that he would hold the kingdom of France."

"Did it have jewels?"

"I have told you what I know about it."

"Did you handle or kiss it?"

"No."

"Did the angel who brought this crown come from on high or walking on the ground?"

"He came from on high, and I understand by the commandment of Our Lord, and entered by the door of the room."

"Did the angel come by way of the ground and walk from the door of the room?"

"When he came before the King he made reverence to the King, bowing before him, and pronouncing the words that I said of the sign. And with this reminded him of the beautiful patience he had shown, during the great tribulations that had come upon him; and from the door he came walking on the ground, in approaching the King."

"What distance was there between the door and the King?"

"The distance was about the length of a lance, as it seems to me; and by the way he came he returned."

— *Item*: Said that when the angel came she accompanied him, and went with him up the steps of the audience chamber; and the angel entered first, and then Joan herself, who said to the King: "Sire, behold your sign; receive it."

Joan had walked with the invisible. What memory of it remained in her poor, disturbed brain now we shall never know. Asked in what place the angel appeared to her, replied:

"I was nearly always in prayer, to the end that God would send the sign to the King, and was at my lodging, which was at the house of a good woman near to the castle of Chinon, when he came. And then we went

together to the King, and were well accompanied by other angels who came with him, that everyone could not see." Said further that if it had not been for love of her, and to take from her the worry [*peine*] of the people who argued against her, she believes that several persons who saw the angel would not have seen it.

"Did all those with the King see the angel?"

"I believe the Archbishop of Reims, the lords of Alençon and La Trémouille, and Charles of Bourbon saw it. As for the crown, several churchmen and others saw it who did not see the angel."

Accompanied by Saint Michael she brings the King his birthright; that much seems plain enough. The rest is the vagary of a tortured mind. She forgets that Alençon was not present when she met the King.

— Asked of what size and form was the angel, replied that she has not permission on that point, and will answer tomorrow.

"Of those who were in the company of the angel, were all of the same form?"

"Some resembled each other very much, and others not, as I saw them. Some of them had wings; also some had crowns, others not, and in the company were Saints Catherine and Margaret. They were with the angel mentioned, and the other angels also, as far as within the King's audience chamber."

— Asked how this angel departed from her, replied that he departed from her in the little chapel; and she was greatly grieved at his going, and wept, and would willingly have gone with him — that is to say, her soul.

"At his departure, did you remain happy, or frightened, in great fear?"

"He did not leave me in fear, but I was grieved at his going."

"Was it not through your merit that God sent this angel?"

"He came for a great purpose; and I was in hopes that the King would believe the sign, and that they would cease to question me. Also [he came] to give succour to the good people of Orleans, and because of the merit of the King and of the good Duke of Orleans."

"Why did he come to you rather than to another?"

"It pleased God thus through a simple maid to drive out the adversaries of the King."

How nobly the ray of reason flashes through!

— Asked if it had been told her whence the angel obtained the crown, replied that it had been brought from God, and that there was no goldsmith in the world who would know how to make one so beautiful, or so rich. As to where it came from, she refers that to God, and does not know anything further as to whence it came.

— Asked if this crown did not exhale a pleasant odor, and if it did not glisten, replied that she has no memory of that, and will find out. Afterward she said that its odor was good and would continue to be so; but it must be well guarded, as was right, and that it was in the form of a crown.

"How did the churchmen know that it was an angel?"

"By their science, and because they were clerks."

A question here follows of which only a portion is given, and which has no apparent meaning. Joan did not grasp it, for she replied :

“Of all this I know nothing, and have never heard it mentioned.”

“When you went to Paris did you go by revelation of your Voices?”

“No, but at request of the nobles, who wished to make a skirmish and a demonstration of arms; but I had intention of going farther, and passing the moats.”

“When you assaulted La Charité was it by revelation?”

“No, but by request of the men-at-arms, as I told you before.”

— Asked about Pont l’Evêque, if she had not had revelation, replied that since the revelation at Melun that she would be captured, she had more often referred for the conduct of war to the will of her captains. However, she had never told them that it had been revealed to her that she would be captured.

— Asked if she thought she had done well to make the assault upon Paris on the day of the nativity of Our Lady, replied that it was well to keep the feasts of Our Lady, and that in her conscience it seemed to her that it was well to keep the feasts of Our Lady from one end to the other.

“Did you not say before Paris: ‘Render the city in the name of Jesus?’”

“I did not. I said: ‘Render to the King of France.’”



## XII

### MARCH 14, TENTH DAY OF EXAMINATION

NEXT morning a third notary was added, in the person of Nicolas Taquel already mentioned in these pages. He did not write, but served as monitor to the other two, Manchon being the principal scribe. On this day, too, Father Isambard de la Pierre, acolyte of Vice Inquisitor Lemaitre, was summoned with his superior. Isambard was kindly disposed, but like the others, in subjection to Cauchon.

Joan was not asked to make oath. To the question, "Why did you jump from the tower of Beau-revoir?" she replied :

"I had heard that those of Compiègne above the age of seven were to be put to the fire and sword, and I preferred to die than to live after the destruction of these worthy people. This was one of the causes. The other was that I knew I was sold to the English, and I would rather die than be in the hands of the English, my adversaries."

"Was this jump made by the counsel of your Voices?"

"Nearly every day Saint Catherine told me that I should not jump, and that God would aid me, and also those of Compiègne. And I said to Saint Catherine that since God would aid those of Compiègne I wished to be there ; and Saint Catherine said to me that without fail I must take all in good part [*il faut que prenés en gré*], and that I would not be delivered until I had

seen the King of England. And I replied: 'Truly, I have no wish to see him; I would rather die than be placed in the hands of the English.'"

"Did you say to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret: 'Will God permit those good people of Compiègne to perish so wretchedly?'"

"I did not say 'so wretchedly'; I said: 'How will God permit to die these good people of Compiègne, who have been, and are, so loyal to their lord?'"

— *Item*: Said that after her fall there were two or three days that she had no desire to eat; because of this jump [*sault*], being injured so that she could neither drink nor eat; and was, however, comforted by Saint Catherine, who told her to confess and ask mercy of God for having jumped; and that without fail those of Compiègne would have succour between then and Saint Martin's Winter Day [Nov. 11]. Whereupon she began to recover and to eat, and was soon cured.

"When you jumped did you think to kill yourself?"

"No, but in jumping recommended myself to God, and believed by means of this jump to escape, and thus avoid being delivered into the hands of the English."

"When speech returned to you did you deny and curse God and your saints, as has been found noted in the information?"

"I have no memory of having cursed God or my saints, there or elsewhere. I have never made confession to that, for I have no memory of having done it."

"Do you wish to refer to the information as to that?"

"I refer myself to God concerning it, and to no other ; and to good confession."

"Do your Voices ask delay before replying?"

"Saint Catherine answers at once, and sometimes it is hard for me to understand because of the disturbance in the prisons, and the noise made by my guards. And when I make a request of Saint Catherine, then Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret make inquiry of Our Lord, and by the commandment of Our Lord give me answer."

"When your saints come, is there any light with them? And did you not see this light when you heard the Voice in the castle, and know whether it was in the room?"

"There is not a day they do not come to this castle, and they do not come without light. This time I heard the Voice, but do not remember if I saw light, nor if I saw Saint Catherine."

— *Item*: Said that she has asked of her Voices three things: the first, her delivery; the second, that God should aid the French, and keep their cities in obedience; third, the salvation of her soul.

— *Item*: Requests that if it should happen that she be taken to Paris she may have a copy of her questions and answers, in order that she may give it to those at Paris and say to them: "Here is how I have been questioned at Rouen, and my answers," to the end that she be no more burdened with so many questions.

— And since she had said that we, bishop, put ourselves in great danger by placing her on trial, she was

asked what that might mean, and in what peril and danger we placed ourselves, and why us more than the others; replied that this was, and is, what she has to say to us, bishop :

"You say you are my judge; I know not if you are, but consider well not to judge badly, for you will put yourself in great danger. And I warn you of it, in order that if Our Lord chastises you for it, I have done my duty in telling you."

Cauchon could hardly have failed to experience a certain uneasiness at this answer. He asked :

"What is this peril or danger?"

If Joan made answer to this question, it is not recorded.<sup>1</sup> By the report she replied :

"Saint Catherine has told me that I will have succour. I do not know if this will be delivery from prison, or if, when I shall be in judgment, some trouble may arise through which I shall be delivered. I think it will be one way or the other. Oftener my Voices say to me that I shall be delivered through great victory, and afterwards have told me: 'Take all in good part; have no care for your martyrdom; from it you will come finally to the kingdom of paradise.'<sup>2</sup> This my Voices say to me simply and clearly, and without fail. And I call the martyrdom the sorrow and adversity that I suffer in prison. I do not know whether I shall have to suffer a greater one, but leave that to Our Lord."

In all the proceedings there is no passage more significant or more pathetic. It needs no comment. Her tormenters merely asked :

"Since your Voices have told you that you will come at last into paradise, do you hold yourself assured that you will be saved, and will not be damned in hell?"

"I believe what my Voices have told me, that I shall be saved, as firmly as if I were saved already."

— And when it was told her that this response was of great weight, she replied :

"Also, I hold it [the assurance] as a great treasure."

"After this revelation, do you believe you can commit mortal sin?"

"I know nothing of that, but in all refer myself to God."

*Wednesday, March 14, Afternoon*

Immediately after dinner Joan added to the reply in which she had said that she expected to be saved :

". . . provided that I hold to the oath and promise made to Our Lord, which was, to preserve my purity of body and of soul."

— Asked if she has need to confess, since she believes from what her Voices have told her that she will be saved, replied that she knows not but that she may have sinned mortally, but believes that if she were in mortal sin Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret would soon abandon her, and believes that one cannot purify one's conscience too much.

"Since you have been in prison have you not denied or cursed God?"

"I have not. Sometimes when I have said: 'By God's good will!' or 'Saint John!' or 'Our Lady!' those who may have reported my words have understood badly."

"If one takes a man at ransom and kills him while a prisoner, is not that a mortal sin?"

"I have not done this."

"What about a man named Franquet d'Arras who was put to death at Lagny?"

"I consented to his death, as he deserved it; the reason being that he had confessed being a murderer, a robber, and a traitor. His trial lasted fifteen days, and the Bailiff of Senlis was the judge, and those of the court of Lagny. I had requested to have Franquet to exchange for a man in Paris, Lord de l'Ours; and when I knew that this lord was dead, and when the bailiff told me that I would do a great wrong to free this Franquet, I said to the bailiff: 'Since my man is dead that I wished to have, do with this one what should be done for the sake of justice.'"

"Did you give, or cause to be given, money to him who had taken this Franquet?"

"I am not paymaster or treasurer of France, to pay over money."

— And when it was recalled to her that she had made the assault on Paris on a fête-day; that she had taken the horse of the Bishop of Senlis; that she had let herself fall from the tower of Beaurevoir; that she wears the dress of a man; that she consented to the death of Franquet d'Arras, and was asked if she believed she had not committed mortal sin, she replied:

"As for the first, the assault on Paris, I believe not for that reason to be in mortal sin, and if I have committed it, it is for God to know of it, through confession to God and to the priest. As to the second, the horse



of Senlis, I believe firmly not to have committed mortal sin toward my lord the bishop, for the reason that he valued it at two hundred *salus* gold, for which he had an order of payment, and moreover the horse was returned to the lord de La Trémouille, to be delivered to my lord of Senlis; and the horse was of no value to ride.

“And further I did not take it away from him; and I was not willing for another reason to keep it, because I heard that the bishop was very much displeased that his horse had been taken, and because it was of no value to the soldiers. If it was paid for by the order that was given him I do not know, nor whether he had restitution of the horse, which I think he did not.

“As for the third, the matter of the tower of Beaurevoir, I did not do it in expectation of being killed, but in hope to save my body and go to the rescue of many good people who were in need. And after the leap I confessed it and asked mercy of Our Lord for it, and have received pardon for it from Our Lord. I believe it was not well to have jumped, but that it was wrong. It was by the counsel of Saint Catherine that I confessed it, and I know by the word of Saint Catherine that I have been pardoned for it.”

“Did you receive for it a great penance?”

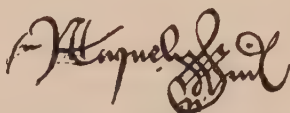
“A great part of the penance was in the suffering I had from the fall.”

“Do you believe the wrong you did in jumping was a mortal sin?”

“I know nothing of that, but leave it to Our Lord.”

—As to the fourth matter, wearing the dress of a man,

she said : "Since I do it by the commandment of Our Lord, and in His service, I believe I am not doing wrong. When it pleases Him to command it I will lay it off at once."

A facsimile of a handwritten signature in dark ink. The signature is highly stylized and cursive, appearing to read 'N. Taquel' with a large, decorative flourish at the end.

SIGNATURE OF RECORDER N. TAQUEL

*(Facsimile from Wallon)*

### XIII

MARCH 15, ELEVENTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. THE  
SIN OF JOAN'S CLOTHING. LIGHT FROM MAN-  
CHON ON HER REASON FOR WEARING IT

AT the beginning of this session Cauchon introduced what was to become a great matter in the process, that is to say, Joan's attitude toward submission to the Church. To Joan, the Church was represented by those she saw here before her, her enemies, determined to take her life. To submit to them meant, as she truly enough saw it, to deliver herself absolutely into their hands. Possibly she did not know that to refuse submission could be equally fatal. In the beginning the report makes very little of the matter; it says:

—The said Joan being admonished and required by charitable exhortation that in case she has done anything that may be contrary to our faith, she submit to the judgment of our Holy Mother, the Church, replied:

"Let my answers be seen and examined by the clerks, after which I can be told if there is anything in them contrary to the Christian faith. I will then be able to learn from my council what this may be, and will then tell the clerks what my Council has to say about it; and if there should be anything against the Christian faith as commanded by Our Lord I will by no means sustain it, and would be much grieved to go contrary to the faith."

— *Item*: It was explained to her as to the distinction between the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant, what was the one and the other, and she was now asked to submit to the determination of the Church [Militant], as to what she had done and said, let it be good or evil. To this she answered:

“I will not reply to you further for the present.”

Joan probably realized that this was the beginning of a grave matter; and their explanation as to the divisions of the Church was puzzling. She must have counsel. Her questioners left the subject, to ask:

“How did you think to escape from the château of Beaulieu between two pieces [slats or bars] of wood?”

“I was never a prisoner in a place from which I would not gladly escape. In this castle I would have shut my guards in the tower if it had not been for the porter [keeper?] who saw and met me.”

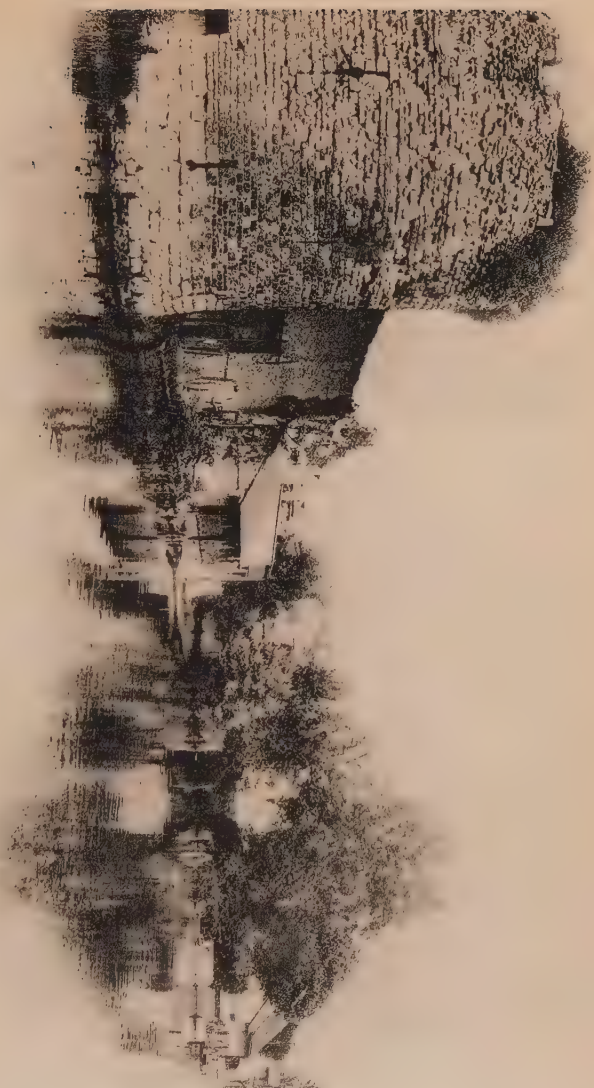
— *Item*: Said that, as it seems to her, it had not pleased God that she should escape this time, and that it was necessary that she saw the King of the English, as her Voices had told her, and as formerly set down.<sup>1</sup>

“Have you permission of God or your Voices to leave prison any time it pleases you?”

“I have asked them for it several times, but have not yet received it.”

“Would you go now if you saw your opportunity?”

“If I saw the door open, I would go out by it, as that would be permission of Our Lord. I believe firmly that if I saw my door open and my guards and the other English not preventing, that this would be



# MONTARGIS

JOAN OF ARC TWICE PASSED THIS WAY; THE OLD TOWER IN THE FOREGROUND  
MAY HAVE SHELTERED HER.





*Above: JOAN'S PRISON, BEAULIEU. Left: SO-CALLED  
"TOWER OF JOAN OF ARC", AT BEAUREVOIR. Right: WAR RUINS  
AT BEAUREVOIR; BASE OF JOAN'S STATUE*



permission of Our Lord; but without permission I would not go, unless to make a trial of going out, to see if Our Lord would be willing." She added the proverb: "Aid thyself and God will aid thee," and says this for the reason that if she should go away no one could say she went without permission.

"Since you have asked to hear mass, does it not seem to you that it would be more honest to hear it in woman's dress? And would you not rather put on a woman's dress and hear mass than remain in male dress and not hear it?"

"Certify to me that I shall hear mass if I am in woman's dress, and I will answer you on this point."

"And I certify to you that you shall hear mass if you are in woman's dress."

"And what will you say if I have sworn and promised our King not to give up this dress? Nevertheless, I reply to you: 'Have made for me a long gown, reaching to the floor, without train, and give it to me in which to go to mass. Then upon my return I will take again the habit that I have.'"

"Will you take woman's dress throughout in which to hear mass?"

"I will take counsel on this, and then will answer you," and further requested that in honour of God and Our Lady she might hear mass in this good city. Upon which it was proposed to her that she take the dress of women, simply and absolutely. She replied:

"Give me a dress like that of a girl of the middle class, that is to say, a long garment and also a woman's head-dress in which to go to mass."<sup>1</sup> And further,

as urgently as she could, asked that she be allowed to keep the dress that she wore, and permitted to hear mass without changing it.

We arrive here at an example of the difference between what really took place at such a time as this, and the proceedings as recorded in the official report. Manchon, himself the recorder of these minutes, testified at the Revision as follows :

“During the process, to the question that had been asked of her: ‘Why not clothe yourself again in woman’s dress and recognize that it is indecent for a person of your sex to wear a man’s tunic and these leggings attached with a lot of cords, stoutly fastened?’ I heard Joan reply thus to my lord of Beauvais and to the Earl of Warwick [generally present]:

“‘I would not dare quit these leggings, nor to wear them otherwise than stoutly fastened. You know well, both of you, that my guards have several times tried to do me violence. Once even as I cried out, you, Lord Warwick, came at my cries to rescue me; and if you had not come I should have been the victim of my guards.’

“In fact, Joan dreaded that during the night her guards would assault her. Once or twice she complained to the Bishop of Beauvais, to the Vice Inquisitor, and to Master Loiseleur [the spy] that one of her guards had wished to violate her. Warwick, notified, threatened the English with severe punishment if the offence was repeated, and two other guards were placed with Joan.”

The picture of Joan’s prison becomes more hideous

and damning with each bit of information concerning it. Brave as Manchon was, he was not permitted to include matter such as this in the official report.

Following the discussion of her clothing, Joan's questioners, returning to the question of her submission, asked :

"Concerning what you have said and done are you willing to submit and refer to the decision of the Church?"

"All my words and deeds are in the hands of God, and I wait on Him as to that. And I certify to you that I would not wish to do or say anything opposed to the Christian faith, and if I have done or said anything in the body that the clerks can say is against the Christian faith that Our Lord has established, I will not defend it, but cast it from me."<sup>1</sup>

"Will you not submit to the laws of the Church?"

"I will not now reply anything further as to that. But Saturday send me the clerk, if you do not wish to come, and it will be put down in writing."

— Asked if when her Voices come she makes reverence to them absolutely, as to a saint, replied that she does, and if sometimes she has not done this, she has begged for mercy and pardon afterwards; and does not know how to make as great reverence as is their due, for she firmly believes them to be Saints Catherine and Margaret, and she says the same of Saint Michael.

— Asked, since to the saints of paradise one offers freely oblations of candles, etc., if to these saints who come to her she has not offered oblations of lighted

candles or other things, at the church or elsewhere, or had masses said ; replied, no, unless it was an offering at mass by the hand of the priest and in honour of Saint Catherine ; and believes that she is one of those who appear to her. And has not lighted as many as she would willingly have done to Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret who are in paradise, and who she believes firmly are those who come to her.

“When you place these candles before the picture of Saint Catherine, do you place them in honour of her who appears to you?”

“I do it in honour of God, of Our Lady, and of Saint Catherine who is in heaven ; and there is no difference between Saint Catherine who is in heaven and her who appears to me.”

“Do you always do and accomplish what your Voices command you to do?”

“To the fulness of my power I accomplish the commandment of Our Lord, made to me through my Voices, as far as I understand it ; and they ask nothing of me without the good pleasure of Our Lord.”

“In making war did you do nothing without the permission of your Voices?”

“You have been fully answered as to that. Look in your record and you will find it.” Said further : “At the wish of the men-at-arms a demonstration was made before Paris, and an assault upon La Charité at the request of the King ; neither was against, or by, command of the Voices.”

“Did you ever do anything against their command and wish?”

“What I have been able and known how to do I have done as well as I could. As to the leap from the tower of Beaurevoir that I made against their commandment, I could not hold myself from it. And when they saw my necessity, and that I was unable to resist, they preserved my life, preventing me from killing myself. Whatever I did in my great undertaking they always helped me; and this is a sign that they are good spirits.”

“Have you no other sign that they are good spirits?”

“Saint Michael assured me of it before their Voices came to me.”

“How did you know it was Saint Michael?”

“By the speech and language of angels. I believed firmly they were angels.”

“How did you know it was the language of angels?”

“I believed it very soon, and had the will to believe.” Said further that Saint Michael when he came to her told her that Saints Catherine and Margaret would come to her, and that she was to act by their counsel; that they were ordered to conduct and counsel her in what she had to do; that she was to believe what they would say to her, and that this was by the commandment of Our Lord.

“If the Evil One put himself in the form of an angel, how would you know whether it was a good or a bad angel?”

“I would know well if this would be Saint Michael or a counterfeit of him.”

— *Item*: Said that the first time she had great doubt



that it was Saint Michael, and also, the first time, had great fear; also, that she saw him many times before she knew it was Saint Michael.

“How was it that you knew at last that it was he, more certainly than the first time?”

“The first time I was a young child, and was afraid of him. Afterwards he taught me and revealed to me so much that I firmly believed it was he.”

— Asked what doctrine he taught her, replied that he told her to be a good child in all things, and that God would help her, and among other things that she would go to the rescue of the King of France. And a greater part of what the angel taught her is in this record; and the angel spoke to her of the pity that was of the kingdom of France.

“*La pitié qui estoit au royaume de France.*” This phrase, so characteristic in form and flavor of the Maid’s utterances, is unmistakably her own, and imperishable. Relentless and galling as were her examinations they have preserved her to us as nothing else could have done.

— Asked as to the size and stature of the angel, replied that on Saturday she would answer that, with the other thing that she must reply to, as far as would be pleasing to God.

“Do you believe it a great sin to grieve Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret who appear to you, and to act against their commandment?”

“Yes, one should fear to give offence to Heaven, but one can make amends and obtain pardon. The most I ever grieved them, I believe, was in jumping from



Beaurevoir, for which I cried mercy, as well as for other offences that I may have committed."

"Will Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret take corporal vengeance for this offence?"

"I do not know, and have never asked them."

"Concerning and considering your saying that people are sometimes hung for telling the truth, if you knew in yourself some crime or fault for which you could or should die, would you confess it?"

"No."

## XIV

### THE CURIOUS AND EDIFYING STORY OF NICOLAS LOISELEUR

IN the incident narrated by Manchon in the preceding chapter there is mention of the spy Loiseleur, to whom Joan had complained of her guards. The submerged episode of Nicolas Loiseleur is probably the most sickening of the many shady features of Cauchon's enterprise. Numbers of those who testified at the Revision referred to it, and always with resentment and disgust, though it had to do with a practice recognized by the Inquisition, that of placing with the accused, to obtain damaging evidence and to give false advice, spies disguised as friends. Loiseleur was so employed in this instance; also to some extent the prosecutor Jean d'Estivet. Notary Boisguillaume has this to say :

"Master Nicolas Loiseleur, pretending to be a shoemaker from the borders of Lorraine, and a prisoner from the party of Charles VII, entered from time to time into Joan's prison and exhorted her not to believe in all these churchmen. 'For,' said he, 'if you listen to them, you will be destroyed.' I believe that the Bishop of Beauvais knew of this; otherwise Loiseleur would not have dared to do it. Many of the assessors murmured against it."

The bishop did know of it, as we shall see presently; also, of course, Warwick. Boisguillaume concludes :

"It was in a similar fashion that Master Jean d'Esti-

vet entered Joan's prison. He passed himself as a prisoner, as Loiseleur had done. This d'Estivet held the office of promoter, and throughout the affair showed himself passionately in favour of the English, whom he was most anxious to please. He was moreover a bad man, seeking always during the trial to quarrel with the recorders and all of those whom he saw proceeding according to justice. He flung fierce insults at Joan, calling her strumpet and filth."

No other witnesses mention d'Estivet's activities as a spy, but they do not restrain themselves as to Loiseleur. Manchon adds interesting details:

"Master Nicolas Loiseleur was an intimate of my lord of Beauvais and held extremely by the party of the English. He passed himself with Joan as being from her country, and thus found means of familiarity and conversation with her. My confrère, Boisguillaume, and myself were advised of this by the lord of Warwick, the Bishop of Beauvais, and Master Loiseleur. They said to us:

"This Joan tells marvels of her apparitions. To know more fully the truth from her mouth we have reached this conclusion: Master Nicolas will pretend that he is of Lorraine and of Joan's party; he will enter the prison in short habit [civil dress], the guards will retire and leave them alone.'

"There was to the adjoining room an opening, made expressly, where we were placed, my confrère and myself, to hear what Joan would say. We were there, hearing all without being seen. Loiseleur entered into conversation with Joan and gave her news, imagined

according to his fancy. After having spoken of the King, he spoke of her revelations. Joan replied to his questions, persuaded that he was of her country and of her party. The bishop and Warwick told us to record the replies made by Joan. I replied that this should not be done, that it was not honest to use such means; that if Joan said these things in regular form we would willingly put them down.

"Loiseleur, if my memory does not deceive me, kept us acquainted with all that the Maid told him familiarly and in secret, finding always means to get it to our hearing. Memorandum was made of it, in view of the questions at the trial, to provide means to trap her."

Loiseleur played a double rôle, going also to Joan in his real character of a priest, at night, hooded, and his voice somehow disguised. Manchon says:

"Joan had great confidence in Loiseleur, so much so that several times he heard her in confession. In general she was never led before the judges that Loiseleur had not previously conferred with her."

All of which must have been well along in the examinations, when her faculties were less alert. She could hardly have been so continuously deceived in the beginning. Manchon's memory may have been faulty, but that the spy played a double rôle appears in the statements of others, among them Thomas de Courcelles, notably persistent in the prosecution, one of three who voted for Joan's torture. With great reluctance de Courcelles testified at the Revision:

"On the subject of Master Nicolas Loiseleur here

is what I know : On several occasions I heard him tell that he had many interviews with Joan, under disguise. What was said at these times? I do not know. In any case I remember having counselled Loiseleur to make himself known to Joan, and to tell her that he was a priest. I believe also that Loiseleur heard Joan in confession."

De Courcelles' memory was very infirm at the Revision. He even forgot that he had voted for Joan's torture. Bailiff Massieu and Brother Isambard both speak of its being common hearsay that persons in disguise went to Joan at night, exhorting her if she wished to avoid death not to submit to the judgment of the Church. Whether Joan was influenced by this counsel may be questioned. One may wonder what her Voices were doing at such times.

Little trace of Loiseleur appears in the Maid's replies. Away from the matter of the sign, her mind is a constant amazement, considering the appalling conditions which she somehow managed to survive. Bedevilled as she was, she may yet have known more than the testimony of these witnesses would lead us to believe.

## XV

MARCH 17, TWELFTH DAY OF EXAMINATION. "IT HAD BORNE THE BURDEN; IT HAD EARNED THE HONOUR"

ON this, the final day of Joan's regular examination, Cauchon, Lafontaine, and Lemaître were present; also those two close colleagues of the bishop, Nicolas Midi and Gérard Feuillet, never absent. Pierre Maurice was likewise in attendance and the acolyte, Isambard de la Pierre. The matter of Saint Michael's outer aspect was resumed, Joan this time taking her customary oath.

— Asked under what form and appearance, of what size and in what dress, Saint Michael came, replied :

"He was in the form of a wise and upright man.<sup>1</sup> Of the dress and other things I will say nothing further. As to the angels, I have seen them with my eyes, and on that subject you will have nothing more from me."

— *Item*: Said that she believes as firmly the words and deeds of Saint Michael who appeared to her as she believes that Our Lord suffered passion and death for us; and what moves her to believe this is the good advice, comfort, and doctrine he has brought and given her.

"Do you wish to submit all your words and acts, be they good or evil, to the determination of Our Mother, the Holy Church?"

"As for the Church, I love it, and wish to support it with all my power, for our Christian faith. It is not I



that should be troubled or prevented from going to church and hearing mass. As to the good works I have done and my coming to France, I would leave that to God who sent me to Charles, son of Charles, King of France. And you will see that the French will soon win in a great work that God will assign to them, so great that it will shake nearly the whole kingdom of France. And I say this, in order that when it shall arrive, it may be remembered that I said it."

"At what time will this happen?"

"I leave that with Our Lord."

"Will you refer your words and acts to the judgment of the Church?"

"I refer them to God who sent me, to Our Lady, and to all the blessed *saints* and *saintes* of paradise. And I think it is all one, Our Lord and the Church, and that, in this, difficulties should not be made for me. Why do you make difficulty when it is all one?"

— Then it was [again] explained to her that there is a Church Triumphant, in which are God, the saints, the angels, and the souls already saved; and also the Church Militant, which is our Holy Father the Pope, vicar of God on earth, the cardinals, the prelates of the Church and the clergy, and all the good Christians and Catholics: the which Church, duly assembled, cannot err, and is governed by the Holy Spirit. This is why she is asked if she will refer herself to the Church Militant; that is to say, the Church thus explained. She replied that she had been sent to the King of France by God, by the Virgin Mary and all the blessed *saints* and *saintes*, and by the Church victorious on

high, and by their commandment. To this Church she submits all her good acts, and all that she has done, or will do. And as to replying that she will submit to the Church Militant, says she will say nothing further at present.<sup>1</sup>

— Asked what she has to say concerning the woman's dress that has been offered her in which to attend mass, replied :

"As to woman's dress, I will not take it yet, so long as this is pleasing to Our Lord. And if it must be that I be led to judgment [execution], and if I should be disrobed for judgment, I request the lords of the Church to accord me the grace of having a woman's long garment<sup>2</sup> and a kerchief on my head. I would rather die than revoke what Our Lord has made me do; and I believe firmly that Our Lord will never let me be brought so low, and that I may soon be rescued, and by a miracle."

It was a belief she would cherish almost to her last hour, a part of her unshaken faith.

"Since you wear the habit of man by the commandment of God, why do you ask for a woman's garment in which to die?"

"It will suffice that it be long."

"Is your godmother who saw the fairies reputed to be a wise [occult] woman?"

"She is held and reputed to be a good woman; not a fortune-teller or a sorceress."

"Why did you say that you would take the dress of woman, but that we should let you go, if this was pleasing to God?"

"If I were given release in the dress of a woman, I would at once put on the dress of a man and do whatever is commanded me by Our Lord. I have formerly answered thus, and I would not for anything take oath not to arm and put on man's dress, wishing only to do the pleasure of Our Lord."

— Asked concerning the ages and garments of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, replied :

"You have all that I will tell you of that, and will have nothing further. I have told you all that I certainly know about it."

"Did you not formerly believe that fairies were evil spirits?"

"I know nothing of that."

"How do you know that Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret hate the English?"

"They love what Our Lord loves and hate what Our Lord hates."

"Does God hate the English?"

"Of the love or hate that God has for the English, or what God will do with their souls, I know nothing; but I know that they will be driven out of France, except those who will die here; and that God will send victory to the French against the English."

In the depths of misery, with death staring her in the face, she could still make such an answer!

"Was God for the English when they were in prosperity in France?"

"I do not know whether God hated the French or not, but I believe He allowed them to be punished for their sins, whatever their sins were."

"What protection and aid do you expect from Our Lord for wearing the dress of a man?"

"For the dress and for the other things I have done I wish no reward but the salvation of my soul."

"What arms did you offer to Saint Denis?"

"I offered an entire suit of white armour, with a sword that I won before Paris."

"To what end did you offer it?"

"I offered it through devotion, as is the custom of soldiers when they are wounded; and because I was wounded before Paris, I offered them to Saint Denis whose name is the war-cry of France."

"Did you do this that your arms might be worshipped?"

"No."

"What purpose served the five crosses that were on the sword that you found at St. Catherine de Fierbois?"

"I know nothing of that."

"What prompted you to have angels painted with arms, feet, legs, and clothing?"

"You have my answer as to that."

"Did you have them painted as they had appeared to you?"

"I had them painted after the manner they are painted in the churches."

"Did you ever see them in the manner in which they are painted?"

"I will tell you nothing more of that."

"Why did you not have painted the light that comes to you with the angels or Voices?"

"I was not commanded to do so."

*Saturday, March 17, After Dinner*

It was during the noon recess of this day that Jean de Lafontaine and one or two others came to Joan with charitable and well-meant advice as to her attitude toward the Church. Manchon places this visit as having occurred during Holy Week (March 25 to April 1) probably confusing it with a later one. The incident in Manchon's mind, however, appears to have been of this day's examination, for it is in the record of the afternoon that its result is manifested.

Manchon says that de Lafontaine came with Isambard and Ladvenu and counselled Joan to submit herself to the Church, "warning her that she must believe and hold that the Church was our Holy Father the Pope and those who preside in the Church Militant; that she should not hesitate to submit herself to the Holy Council, seeing that there were several notable clerks, as many of her own party as of the others, and that if she did not do this she placed herself in grave danger." Manchon says that the result of this was shown next day, but by the record it was on the same afternoon.

When the court re-assembled Isambard seems to have seated himself at a little table next to Joan, where he might surreptitiously direct her answers, a dangerous venture. "Joan had no one to direct her," says one witness; "no one would have dared meddle with such an undertaking." Yet the good-natured, timid Isambard did dare, as we shall see.

On this last afternoon, besides those of the morning,

there was present Thomas de Courcelles, young and fiercely orthodox, considered very able. The subject of the banner was first touched upon. Asked if the two angels on the standard represented Saint Michael and Saint Gabriel, Joan answered :

“They were there only for the honour of Our Lord, who was painted on the standard holding the world.”

“Were the two angels who figured on the standard the two angels who guard the world? And why, since you were commanded by Our Lord to paint the standard, were there not several of them?”

“The entire standard was commanded by Our Lord, through the voices of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, who said to me : ‘Take the standard on the part of the King of Heaven.’ And because they said to me ‘Take the standard on the part of the King of Heaven,’ I ordered painted on it this figure of Our Lord and the two angels, in colour, and did it by their commandment.”

“Did you ask of them that by virtue of this standard you would gain all the battles in which you fought, and that you might have victory?”

“They told me that I should take it boldly, and that God would aid me.”

“Which aided the more, you the standard, or the standard you?”

“The victory whether from the standard or from me came wholly from Our Lord.”

“Was the hope of victory based upon your standard or yourself?”

“It was founded upon Our Lord, and not elsewhere.”



"If another than you had carried it, would it have had as good fortune as when you carried it?"

"I do not know as to that. I leave it to Our Lord."

"If one of the men of your party had given you his standard to carry, and you had carried it, would you have had in it as good hope even had it been the standard of your King as in your own that was planned for you by God?"

"I carried more willingly that which came to me by the order of Our Lord, and at all times left these matters to God."

— Asked what purpose the sign served that she put on her letters, and the names: *Jesus Maria*, replied that the clerks writing her letters put the sign there, and some said it was proper to put these two words: *Jesus Maria*.

"Was it not revealed to you that if you lost your virginity you would lose your good fortune?"

"That was not revealed to me."

"If you were married, do you think your Voices would come?"

"I do not know; I leave that to Our Lord."

"Do you think and believe firmly that your King did well to kill, or cause to be killed, my lord the Duke of Burgundy?"

"I believe it was of great damage to the kingdom of France; but whatever may have been between them, God sent me to the rescue of the King of France."

— Asked concerning what she had said that she would reply to us, bishop, and also to our clerks as if she were before our Holy Father, the Pope — there

being nevertheless several questions to which she does not wish to reply — if she would not reply more fully before the Pope than she has done before us, replied that she has answered to everything as truthfully as she knew; and if anything which she knows and has not said should come to memory she will say it willingly.

“Does it not seem to you that you would be held to reply the full truth to the Pope, Vicar of God, concerning all that would be demanded of you touching your faith and conscience?”

“Take me to the Pope, and I will reply before him to all that I should.”

This answer, undoubtedly suggested by de Lafontaine, and now prompted by a signal from Isambard, seems to have fallen like a bombshell in the midst of Cauchon's faithful. It was a demand which Joan had a right to make, and a tumult followed it. No word of this appears in the report, but Manchon testified that the bishop hearing Joan's answer was very angry, and demanded who had spoken to her. He was told by the guard of the visit of de Lafontaine and the others, and his violence was such that de Lafontaine soon after left Rouen, never to return.<sup>1</sup> Manchon says that but for the intervention of Vice-inquisitor Lemaître, Isambard and Ladvenu would have been in danger of death, and that orders were given by Warwick that no one except Cauchon and those who came with him should have access to the Maid.

Manchon's testimony is a good deal confused as to date and order of events, but his general facts are borne out by other witnesses.<sup>2</sup>

Finally we have Isambard's own story, which does not fit with the others as well as might be wished, but as well as could be expected after much retelling by the good brother during a long lapse of years.

"Once, several others and myself being present, Joan was asked to submit to the Church. She replied that she would willingly submit herself to the Holy Father, the Pope, requesting that she be brought before him, but that she was not willing to submit herself to those who were there, in particular to the Bishop of Beauvais, these being her chief enemies.

"I intervened to advise her to submit to the General Council of Bale, at this time assembled. Joan asked me what was the General Council. I answered that it was a congregation of the Universal Church, and that in this council of the doctors and prelates of humanity there were as many of her party as of the party of the King of England."

Isambard is here remembering what was said to Joan during the noon recess, and what he might have said, had he dared, in Cauchon's presence. What he really did (and even that required courage), was to signal Joan by a look or a nudge. His story continues:

"Hearing this [his supposed advice] Joan said: 'Oh, since in this place are some of our party I would willingly go and submit myself to the Council of Bale!'"

Isambard must have been betrayed into some open suggestion, or expression, for he adds:

"At once the Bishop of Beauvais admonished me with great indignation, crying: '*Silence! in the devil's name!*' Whereupon the recorder, Manchon, asked if

he should register this submission to the Council of Bale. The bishop answered *no*, that this was not necessary, and that he should take good care not to write it. Upon which Joan said to the Bishop :

“‘Ha, you write well enough whatever is against me, and will not write that which is for me.’ I believe, in fact, Joan’s declaration was not recorded, and there followed in the assembly a great murmuring.”

Isambard also tells of being threatened with the Seine by the English, especially by Warwick; and Manchon supports his statement that Cauchon shouted at him “Silence ! in the devil’s name !” for offering the Maid some word of direction. On the whole, allowing for reasonable expansions of memory, Isambard’s account of the outbreak is well enough.

The scene probably lasted a good while. There is reason to believe that Joan repeated her demand to be taken to the Pope, and that the Council of Bale became a feature in the tumult. The official report has not a word of it; Isambard has explained why. The next recorded question touched on less dangerous matters. Joan, asked concerning the material of one of her rings, — what it was — replied :

“I do not truly know. If it was gold, it was not fine gold. I do not know whether it was gold or brass. And I think it had on it three crosses, and no other sign that I know, except the words *Jesus Maria*.”

“Why did you like to look at this ring when you went into battle?”

“Out of pleasure, and in honour of my father and my mother; and having this ring on my hand and on

my finger I have touched Saint Catherine who appeared to me."

"Where did you touch Saint Catherine?"

"You will have nothing further as to that."

— Asked if she had ever kissed or embraced Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, replied that she had embraced both of them.

— Asked if they exhaled a sweet incense, replied :

"It is good to know that they did."

"In embracing them did you not feel the warmth of touch?"

"I could not embrace them without feeling and touching them."

"Where did you embrace them, above or below?"

"It was more suitable to embrace them below than above."

— Asked if she had not given them crowns of flowers, replied that in honour of them — to their pictures or statues in the churches — she has done so many times. As to those who have appeared to her, has never given any that she can remember.

"When you placed the wreaths on the tree, did you place them there in honour of those who appeared to you?"

"No."

"When the saints appeared to you did you not make them reverence by kneeling or inclining?"

"Yes, the most that I could make I made to them, for I know that they are those who are of the kingdom of paradise."

— Asked if she knows anything of those who go up

into the air with fairies, replied that she has never done this, or known of it, but has often heard it spoken of, and that one did it on Thursday ; but does not believe in it, and believes that it is sorcery.

"Did not someone wave or turn your standard about the head of your King, at the coronation?"

"Not that I know of."

"Why, rather than those of other captains, was it carried into the church of Reims?"

It was their final question, and only Joan could have answered :

"It had borne the burden ; it had earned the honour."

"*Il avoit esté à la paine, c'estoit bien raison que il fut à l'honneur*"; the words will live as long as the French language.<sup>1</sup>

So it was the regular sessions ended. Cauchon may have felt that he had about all the evidence he would be likely to get, and he may have been, for the moment at least, upset by the new turn of affairs. With Joan demanding to be taken before the Pope or the Council of Bale, dissatisfaction within and without his court could grow. Such things must be considered.

Joan had been examined on twelve different days, on several of them both forenoon and afternoon. Manchon says that the sessions lasted three or four hours. If that be true, much transpired that was not recorded, much goading of the witness and exhaustive repetition only the residue of which, the part more likely to be useful, was preserved.

<sup>1</sup> The English rendering given is Mark Twain's and comes nearer than anything more literal to conveying the subtle delicacy of the original, which is like an elusive perfume.



"In spite of their cross-fire Joan replied prudently," adds Manchon, which is superfluous testimony. His own record, the report of her enemies, shows that. One against many, without friend or advocate, she held her own. The hardest witness under the best circumstances is apt to go to pieces after a few hours of bitter grilling. Joan of Arc under conditions indescribable, after twelve days of inquisition such as no modern witness can ever know, ended with that serene and immortal answer.

"In all conscience they asked her questions too difficult," says Brother Ladvenu; "they wished to catch her."

Well, they had done that. The long anguish of body and mind; the cold, the galling chains and racking noise; the heartache and the humiliation, the days of bedlam and the nights of dread had told. Her weakened faculties had betrayed her into an illusion, a phantasm of unreason and untruth which her enemies would employ to her undoing, and which her critics would cite against her for a good five hundred years.

## XVI

### THE "SEVENTY ARTICLES"

CAUCHON evidently thought that no day was too holy for his righteous undertaking, for on the next day, which was the Sunday of the Passion, he assembled at his residence eleven of the faithful and read to them selections from Joan's testimony, prepared by "divers learned men," who had garbled them for the occasion. The reading, as Cauchon explained, was to give all a better grasp of the case and enable them to "deliberate more surely on what they must do."

They did deliberate, and Cauchon ordered them to study the extracts and examine certain authentic books, bringing each his opinion the following Thursday. Meantime, a list of articles would be drawn from Joan's "confessions," to be offered against her in judgment.

The articles were not ready on Thursday. Cauchon again ordered their preparation, adding that later they would decide whether Joan was to be examined again, "in order that with the aid of God the business might be conducted to the glory of the Lord and the exaltation of the faith in such manner that our process suffer no blemish." Two days later Cauchon, d'Estivet, and half a dozen others came to Joan's prison with Manchon, to read aloud her testimony in full. By her request the questions and answers were read in order and she accepted most of them

without comment. She now said that her surname was d'Arc or Romée, and explained that in her country girls bore the surnames of their mothers. To an answer given concerning taking the dress of a woman she supplemented :

"Give me a woman's dress in which to go to my mother's home, and I will take it. I would do this to be free of the prisons. Once out of them I would take counsel as to what I would do."

The reading at an end, the report says she acknowledged it to be a correct transcript of the questions and her answers. She asked in view of the season that she be allowed to hear mass. To this request no attention was paid at the moment, but next morning, which was Palm Sunday, Cauchon and Beaupère with two or three others came to the prison. They reminded Joan of her wish to hear mass and asked if to do this she would take a dress such as she had worn in the place of her birth, the dress of her country. She replied with the request that she might be permitted to hear mass in the dress she was wearing, and that further she might receive the sacrament at Easter. Upon Cauchon repeating his question, she said :

"I have no counsel as to that, and cannot take women's dress."

"Do you wish to take counsel of your saints concerning that point?"

"You could very well allow me to hear mass in this dress, and I desire it above anything. But change I cannot, and it does not rest with me."

They exhorted her to reconsider, reminding her of

her manifested devoutness. She answered that it was not for her to decide. Remembering Manchon's account of another discussion of this subject, one may feel certain there was more here than appears in the report. According to the latter she was urged to ask the consent of her Voices.

But Joan was firm. "To wear it is nothing against the Church," she pleaded, "and lays no burden upon my soul."

Cauchon's reply is not recorded. To Joan in her bleak desolation the privilege asked meant more than is easily imagined. It was denied.

Next day in Cauchon's home, the articles which had been prepared were read and approved, and a day later, March 27, in a room next the great hall of the castle, Joan, confronted by forty of the assessors, listened to them. To each charge she must reply under oath, as to her belief or disbelief. Failing in this she would be held in default and declared excommunicated for manifest guilt. Some of the assessors suggested that she be given delay, if she could not at once reply.

Altogether there was a certain seeming of fairness, considering the devilish nature of the ammunition that had been prepared. The apparent fairness was carried a step further. Cauchon addressing Joan said that all present were churchmen, wise in rights human and divine, wishing to proceed with her in all piety and gentleness; that they did not seek vengeance or corporeal punishment, but only her return to the way of truth and salvation. Wherefore, she being not well

informed in these arduous matters, he offered to let her select one or several of the assistants as her counsel, or would himself designate those who would tell her what to do and say, provided she adhered to the truth, which upon oath she would be required to do.

Joan was not impressed by this suggestion ; she said :

“First, for your advice as to my welfare, and concerning our faith, I thank you, and all the company as well. As to the counsel you offer me, also I thank you, but I have no intention to depart from the counsel of Our Lord. As to the oath that you wish me to take, I am ready to swear to tell the truth concerning all that will touch upon the process.” She then laid her hand upon the Bible and took the required oath.

First they read her the accusation. Joan, it said, amenable and subject to correction, vehemently suspect, scandalous, and notoriously defamed, had been brought before them in order that she might be denounced and declared sorceress, witch, divineress, false prophetess, invoker of evil spirits and conjureess, a woman given to the practice of the magic arts, evil thinking in the Catholic faith, schismatic in the article *Unum Sanctum*, sacrilegious, idolatrous, accursed and malevolent, blasphemer of God and the saints, scandalous, seditious, inciting war, cruelly athirst for human blood — and so on through some three dozen items, each ambitiously worse than the preceding, it being necessary to pile up the charges in this lavish fashion in order to convince any wavering assessor. As this rigmarole was in Latin, Joan understood not a word of it. In any case she would have returned

no more than a simple denial, as she did to most of the articles.

There were seventy of these, and according to Cauchon they had been prepared with the aid of God, in the glory of the Lord and for the exaltation of the faith. They were supposed to summarize Joan's testimony. A few examples will show to what extent this was carried out. They were read to Joan in French by Thomas de Courcelles.

In the first article she was in general charged with sorcery; in the second she was charged with having even in her childhood mixed and prepared the potions and spells of witchwork, made pacts with demons and evil spirits which she regularly consulted, incidentally allowing herself to be adored and venerated.

Joan merely denied these things, adding that if she had been adored it had not been by her wish.

Article III declared that Joan has committed acts savouring of heretical perversity; uttered, affirmed, published, and instilled into the hearts of the simple people propositions false, smelling of heresy, offensive to pious ears, etc., etc.

Joan said that as much as was in her power she had sustained the Church.

Article IV named her birthplace and parentage, adding that Joan in her youth "was not reared or instructed in the principles of the faith but was taught by certain old women to use witchcraft, divination, to do superstitious works and to employ the magic arts — many of the inhabitants of the two villages [Domremy and Greux] having been notorious from antiquity for



using the said evil practices. From several, and especially from her godmother, this Joan tells of having heard much talk of visions or apparitions of fairies and goblins. And by still others she has been imbued with superstitions to the point that before you in judgment she has confessed that to this day she does not know that fairies are evil spirits."

Joan denied that she had been taught witchcraft by old women. As to fairies, she did not know what they were. As for her religious instruction she said she had been taught well and duly, as a good child must be.

Articles V and VI affirmed that at Domremy fairies collected around the tree and the spring, and that Joan had frequented these places, often at night, with those who employed witchcraft, and had hung songs and verses on the tree, accompanied by invocations and witcheries to work evil.

To this attempt to warp and twist the diversions of her childhood into something loathsome, Joan referred to her preceding replies.

Article VII said that Joan was accustomed to carry a mandragore in her breast, hoping by this means to have good luck in riches and temporal things. She had affirmed that the mandragore had this virtue, and effect.

Joan denied this charge. For her former answer as to the mandragore, the reader is referred to her testimony of March 1 (page 148).

Article VIII charged Joan with having gone without her parents' permission to Neufchâteau, where she

lived for some time with a woman named La Rousse, among girls of loose behaviour. Article IX declared that while there she cited a young man before the officials of Toul on a matrimonial matter, and spent all her means in making journeys there in an attempt to compel him to marry her.<sup>1</sup>

To both these charges Joan merely referred to her preceding answers. The reader's blood may grow hot under these malevolent trumperies, but Joan apparently remained serene.

They charged her with having boasted to de Baudricourt that she would have three sons, one of whom would become a pope, another an emperor, and the third a king. She did no more than deny it.

They charged her with wearing a dress that was a blasphemy to God and His saints. She answered :

"I have never blasphemed God and His saints."

They charged her with having at Beaurevoir and at Arras refused woman's dress, and with still refusing to wear it or to do the work of women.

She acknowledged that she had refused the dress at Beaurevoir and at Arras, adding that as for women's work there were enough other women to do it.

They charged her with having hidden, aided and abetted by demons, a sword in the church at Fierbois, in order that she might mislead princes, nobles, clergy, and people by finding it. One less contained would have indignantly denied this accusation. Joan referred to her former reply.

In one of the articles (XX) she was charged with having laid a charm on her ring, on the cloth used for

the pennons carried by her men, and on the sword of Fierbois, working conjuries over them to make them lucky, affirming that her people having these pennons could not suffer reverse or misfortune in their deeds of war.

Joan referring to her former answers added that for the good fortune of her standard she had relied upon that sent by the Lord.

The reading of the Seventy Articles continued through two days. All are of a piece with those noted — distortions or reversals of Joan's straightforward testimony. Long before the end of the second day, weary and indifferent, she made few replies other than to refer to her former answers.

When she was charged with claiming to be without sin, "though having committed all the acts customary to men-at-arms," she "referred, as before."

When they piled up intricate charges of heresy, maledictions, and blasphemy, she listened patiently and replied that she was a good Christian, referring herself to God.

They could not goad her to self-contradiction or violence, but when they touched upon her illusion of the sign, and the angel Michael who at Chinon, with a myriad of other angels, had led her to the King, she wavered, saying she did not recall having spoken of seeing the angels in such numbers. The admission here that she could not clearly remember as to her testimony seems important. Of her *facts* she was not in doubt. Her illusion was of the intangible; it had developed, taking on new form and features as she testified.

She remembered it all uncertainly, as one recalls a dream.

The accused was charged with having deluded the Catholic people to a point where they held her to be a saint, "the greatest of all the saints of God after the Virgin Mary . . . angel rather than woman, acts pernicious to the Christian religion and damaging to the salvation of Christian souls."

Joan referred to her former answers and to God.

They told her that Catherine de la Rochelle had testified against her,<sup>1</sup> warning them that she would escape from prison through the help of the devil, if not well guarded.

Joan answered that she did not wish the devil to release her from prison.

She was charged with having a banner made, as she said, by the command of God; "the which banner she placed in the Church of Reims, near the altar, during the coronation of Charles, wishing by her pride and vain-glory to make others pay tribute to it."

"It had borne the burden; it had earned the honour." She referred them to that answer, and to God.

She was charged with having "tempted God," by asking him without necessity to guide her by His revelations, notably before jumping from the tower of Beaulieu.

Joan answered that she did not ask revelations from God without necessity, and that she wished He would send more of them, in order that they (the judges) could better perceive that she had *come* from God; that is to say, that He had sent her.

Time and again throughout the articles they charged her with sorcery, divination, falsehood, malediction, blasphemy, heresy, sedition, and the effusion of blood ; to all of which Joan replied simply that she had been a good Christian, and referred herself to God.

The final article (LXX) neatly combined all the rest in a well-turned, composite lie, which declared :

“That all and each of these propositions are true, notorious, manifest, and upon them are exercised, and still exercise themselves, public voice and renown. The said accused has several times and sufficiently recognized and confessed them as true, before men of probity and worthy of faith, whether in judgment or elsewhere.”

Joan's reply was a denial, beyond her recorded statements.

Thus at the end of the second tiresome day the reading came to a close. If the purpose of the articles had been to goad Joan to violent and damaging confessions, it had failed. Weakened, harassed, with collapse imminent, she had maintained her self-possession, adding little or nothing to her original testimony. Now and again they had asked if she would submit her acts to the Church and to those to whom belonged correction. At first she said that she would refer them to the Lord who had caused her to perform them. Later she said that on Saturday after dinner she would reply. She allowed herself time to consult her Voices ; also, it may be, Loiseleur, by this time always at her ear.

## XVII

### A VISIT FROM THE JUDGES. JOAN SICK UNTO DEATH IN HER PRISON

SATURDAY, March 31, found Cauchon, with seven assessors tried and true in the cause, duly assembled in Joan's cell to hear her decision as to submitting her words and acts to those whose business it was to convict her. The interview was not long. Asked first if she would submit, etc., she answered that she would, provided the Church did not require her to revoke the things she had said and done through revelation. These, she said, she would not revoke for anything in the world.

As these were the very things she was commanded to revoke, the outlook was not promising.

Would she, if the Church should decide that her revelations were illusions or things diabolical, abide by that verdict? Joan's reply indicated that she would not. She said her words and deeds as set down in the process had proceeded from the commandment of the Lord. She would refer them to no man in the world, but only to the Lord, "obeying always His good commandment."

Was she not subject to the Church on earth, the Pope, the cardinals, the bishops, and the rest?

She was, Our Lord being first served.

Do her Voices tell her not to submit to the Church Militant?

They do not command her to do so.



"Did you have files at Beaurevoir and Arras?"

"If they were found on me, I could not reply to the contrary," an answer that leaves us wondering what pitying heart had tried to give her freedom.

The interview ended here. On the day following, which was Easter Sunday, Joan was taken desperately ill, chiefly because of the strain of her long confinement and mental anguish, though the attack was precipitated by violent indigestion due to a fish sent as an Easter gift by Cauchon. Joan herself is thought to have believed that the fish was poisoned, which was not very likely, unless the bishop was moved by a pity which the evidence does not indicate. It is far more likely that he was moved by economy and bought a tainted fish.

Three physicians attended Joan, and most of what we know of her sickness is from two of these, who lived to bear witness at the Revision. Said Dr. Jean Tiphaine :

"Joan was in a prison in the tower of the château. I remember having seen her there, her legs loaded with irons."<sup>1</sup>

"The prisoner having fallen ill in the course of the trial, the judges sent me to visit her. I was conducted by one d'Estivet [the prosecutor]. In the presence of d'Estivet, of Master Guillaume Delachambre, doctor of medicine, and several others I felt Joan's pulse, to learn the cause of her sickness, and asked her :

<sup>1</sup> That Joan was kept in chains during her illness is borne out by the testimony of the notary, Nicolas Taquel. "I saw her in irons," he says, "and that notwithstanding her illness." Fabre, Vol. II, page 60.

“‘What have you? Where do you suffer?’

“She replied that a carp had been sent her by the bishop of Beauvais; she had eaten of it and suspected that it had been the cause of her sickness. Upon this d’Estivet rebuked her severely. He denounced her for evil speaking, and called her a wanton, in these terms:

“‘It is thou, strumpet, who hast eaten herring, and other things forbidden you!’

“‘I have not done so,’ she answered, and there ensued between them an exchange of injurious words. Meanwhile, I made further inquiries as to Joan’s attack. I learned from persons present that she had been seized with violent vomitings.”

Dr. Delachambre’s testimony is more extended, and considerably more explicit. He had considered Joan a good girl, he said, and had heard from Pierre Maurice, who confessed her, that he had never listened to such a confession from the lips of any other person, and that he believed Joan walked justly and holily with God.<sup>1</sup> Delachambre then tells of her sickness and his visit to her.

“During the indisposition that Joan had, the Cardinal of England [Winchester] and the Earl of Warwick sent me to wait on her. I appeared before them with Master Guillaume Desjardins and other doctors. The Earl of Warwick said to us:

“‘Joan, according to report, has fallen ill. I have sent for you that you may try to cure her. The King [of England — that is to say, Bedford] would not for anything in the world have her die a natural death,

for he holds her dear, having paid dearly for her.<sup>1</sup> He intends that she shall die only by law, and be burned. Do therefore what is necessary. Attend her with great care, and try to cure her.'

"Thus we visited her, Guillaume Desjardins, some others, and myself. Desjardins and I felt her right side and found that she had fever; for which we concluded to bleed her. We conveyed this decision to the Earl of Warwick, who said to us:

"'A blood-letting? Take care! She is sly, and could very well kill herself.'

"Nevertheless, the blood-letting took place, and relief immediately followed. Joan better, Master d'Estivet appeared and addressed her insultingly. He called her harlot [*putain*] and strumpet. These insults upset Joan so much that the fever returned and she had a relapse. This having come to the knowledge of the earl, he enjoined d'Estivet from further insult to Joan."<sup>2</sup>

Jean d'Estivet was not only promotor of the action against Joan, but a priest in high standing, a canon of Beauvais and Bayeux. His language as reported by Tiphaine, Delachambre, and others is a sufficient comment on the charitable and tender attitude of the prosecution, as toward the accused.

## XVIII

### THE TWELVE ARTICLES ARE DRAWN

**T**HAT Joan was lying sick unto death in no way delayed Cauchon's activities. The Seventy Articles, blatant as to charges and futile as to results, were carefully reduced to twelve—from the standpoint of the prosecution well and skilfully drawn. They did not actually charge Joan with anything not shown by her recorded testimony, and were scarcely more biased than a brief for the prosecution would be today. The gist of these articles may be given in a few paragraphs.

Joan claimed, with her corporeal eyes, to have seen Saint Michael and the other saints, notably Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, and at times a multitude of angels. Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret she had embraced and kissed. They had spoken to her at a fountain near a great tree, a profane place, being traditionally haunted by fairies.

The saints on the part of God had ordered Joan to take the dress of a man (the same being described), a dress which she now refused to lay off, except by the express commandment of God. The saints favoured the French party and spoke the French language. Joan had been sent, and charged, to restore the French King.

Joan had left the paternal roof without consent, to the great grief of her parents; had lived with the soldiers by day and by night, having never, or rarely, any woman with her.

Joan had told of an angel, who in company with other angels had brought a very precious crown and delivered it to the King as a sign, in the presence and view of others.

Joan had prophesied, and still prophesies, of certain events: as for instance, that she will be delivered, and that the French through her will arrive at great achievement. She has also recognized by revelation persons whom she has never seen, and has produced a hidden sword.

Joan, though forbidden by those she calls saints, has flung herself from a high tower, preferring death rather than to be delivered into the hands of the English. She knows that this sin, which she confessed, has been forgiven, inasmuch as the saints still visit her and have promised to conduct her to paradise. She has not, as she thinks, committed mortal sin.

She has from the beginning obeyed the commands of those she believes to be saints, asking no counsel of her father, mother, curé, prelate, or other ecclesiastic. Nevertheless, she believes as firmly that her revelations are from God, as that Our Lord suffered and died for us.

Finally Joan claims that her acts have been performed by the will and command of God, and she refuses to refer them to the Church Militant, or to any one in the world, but only to God, though the article *Unum Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam* has been declared to her, and it has been explained to her that all here below are held obedient to it and required to submit their words and deeds to the Church.

Certainly this was much more temperate than the

earlier document, and substantially supported by the testimony. Under the Church law of that day, strictly speaking, Joan stood convicted by her words and deeds. Cauchon had the authority of the Bible itself for declaring as an abomination a woman who should wear male garments.

In fact, it would seem that Cauchon's mistake had been in wanting a great trial, a *beau procès*. Joan was technically culpable on several counts. A small court and a short shrift, such as had served for Pierronne, would have answered every purpose except that of personal aggrandizement for the bishop, whose *procès* was to be something worthy of the great office he expected to win as a reward.

The *beau procès* had proved a boomerang. The publicity it had stirred up was much of it unfavourable. It had roused opposition even in his own camp. It had antagonized the people of Rouen whom, in view of his prospective dignity as their archbishop, he especially wished to propitiate. Nevertheless, he must go on. He could no longer in the simple fashion of the time declare Joan a heretic and a witch, and take her out and burn her, as had been done in the case of Pierronne. Such an ending now would be not only insignificant but accounted reprehensible. The *beau procès* had shrunk from a great court in the state chamber to a squalid hearing in a jail. The Seventy Articles, prepared with infinite patience and "the aid of God," had dwindled to twelve prosaic statements of approximate fact. Still, with Bedford and the English army behind him, in one way or another he would win.



On April 5, while Joan's life hung in the balance, Cauchon submitted the Twelve Articles to his assistants and "other persons of experience," then in Rouen, requesting that on or before the following Tuesday they report on them in writing, giving "salutary counsel" as to whether these assertions, or certain among them, showed the accused to be suspect, according to the Holy Scripture, the decisions of the Roman Church, etc., etc.

The report was not quite ready on Tuesday, but a few days later twenty-two of the assistants, including Jean Beaupère, Nicolas Midi, Isambard (alas!), Thomas de Courcelles, and Nicolas Loiseleur — Loiseleur, at that very moment posing as her friend and spiritual adviser — joined in a written statement, which after long preamble declared her visions and revelations to be fictions, or work of the Evil One; that her testimony revealed lies, superstitions, and divinations; deeds scandalous and irreligious; words rash, presumptuous, and boasting; blasphemies toward God and the saints; disrespect to parents; non-conformity to the command to love one's neighbour; idolatry, or at least lying fictions; schism toward the unity, authority, and power of the Church; things of evil sound and vehemently suspect of heresy.

There was more of this, but it was mainly repetitious. Some of those who signed, like Isambard, had done so through cowardice. Others, like the ardent de Courcelles, had signed in good faith. Still others, like Loiseleur, had done so because they were mere vermin, reveling in human destruction.

Some twenty of the assistants reported separately, either sanctioning the opinions already noted, or expressing similar conclusions. Eleven lawyers of Rouen conservatively suggested that Joan legally could be admonished to resume female dress under threat of excommunication, providing she had not taken it by command of the Lord, which they thought not presumable.

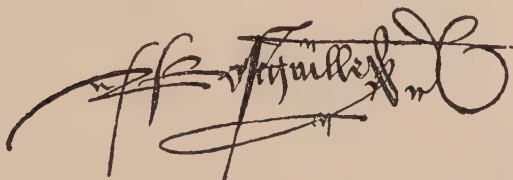
They expressed a similar conclusion as to submitting her words and deeds to the Church, provided her revelations did not come from God, which they thought not likely. The legal mind does not hastily commit itself. In conclusion they referred to "our dear mother, the University of Paris," to whom, because of their science, the judgment more suitably belonged.

One of the assessors, Raoul le Sauvage, in a long opinion, condemnatory, but comparatively temperate, urged consideration for feminine fragility, charitable admonition, and finally, for the peace of their consciences, that the articles be submitted to the Holy Apostolic Seat.

Of the assessors who returned opinions there were three who ventured to suggest, however timidly, the possibility of Joan's good faith. These were Pierre Minier, Jean Pigache, and Richard de Grouchet, who in their brief report offered the opinion that if Joan's visions proceeded from an evil spirit, or a demon, they were suspect, and evil. On the other hand, if they proceeded from God, or from a good spirit, though this was not evident, they should not be taken in bad part.

It required courage to do even that. "We were struck with fear," testified de Grouchet, at the Revision. "We gave our opinion according to our consciences. It was not according to the will of the bishop and some of the assessors, and it was said to us:

"Now, see what you have done!"

A facsimile of a handwritten signature in dark ink. The signature is highly stylized and cursive, featuring large loops and flourishes. It appears to be the name 'Boisguillaume' written in a calligraphic hand.

SIGNATURE OF NOTARY BOISGUILLAUME

*(Facsimile from Wallon)*

## XIX

CAUCHON PAYS JOAN A VISIT OF CONSOLATION. "I CAN DO AND SAY NOTHING FURTHER; I HAVE SAID IT ALL AT MY TRIAL"

OF Joan's condition during this period there is no record. Probably she was not conscious or Cauchon would hardly have let her alone for nearly three weeks. That her attack was followed by a wasting illness is certain, for on April 18 she still believed, perhaps hoped, that death was near. On that day Cauchon and seven assistants assembled in her prison "charitably to exhort and gently to admonish her to return to the path of truth and make a sincere profession of faith . . . she having by her replies and assertions exposed herself to great peril."

Cauchon explained that they had come to visit her in her sickness, "to console and recomfort her," also how during many days she had been questioned by learned men touching the faith, and how her answers had been perilous. "Ignorant and unlettered as she was, they had offered, and still offer, to provide her with skilled and benevolent advisers who would duly instruct her." She could select them herself, he said, adding that as men of the Church they were anxious to provide in all ways for the safety of her body and soul, even as they would do for a relative, and for themselves (" . . . *ce que nous ferions pour chacun de nos proches et pour nous-même*"). Each day, in accordance with the custom of the Church in such cases, they would

send someone to instruct her, "the Church never locking her bosom to those who would return to her."

Finally Cauchon charged her to think well what she did, and so arrive at a wise decision. For, if opposing them, she trusted to her own judgment, to her head without experience, they must abandon her. Wherefore, she must think well of the peril that would then arise for her, the thing which "with all our strength and with all our affection we seek to avoid."

We have only to recall the tenor of the original Seventy Articles, the conditions of Joan's imprisonment (even in illness), the former deportment of Cauchon and his prosecutor, d'Estivet, to properly estimate the value of this heartfelt consolation and advice. Joan weak and wasted, hovering between life and death, was not deluded by it. She answered, says the report, that "she returned thanks for what we had said to her as to her salvation, and added":

"It seems to me, in view of my malady, that I am in great danger of death. And if thus it is that God wishes to work His will with me, I request of you that I may have confession, also communion, and that I may be laid in consecrated ground."

She was about to slip away from them, to die a natural death, a thing which Bedford and Warwick would not have happen "for anything in the world." To put a blemish on Charles's title to the crown she must die at the stake, a witch. It is hard to believe that Cauchon was willing to burn a dying girl, but no kindlier conclusion is warranted. Joan, submitting her words and deeds to the Church Militant — the

Church as there represented — could be judged and sentenced with no unnecessary delay. She could be judged and sentenced if she refused, but such a procedure with one who was universally known to hold only by the saints of paradise was more likely to be questioned, and public sympathy for her had become very strong. She must be brought to yield. In the next paragraph of the report the cloven foot becomes more visible :

“Then it was said to her : ‘If you wish to enjoy the rights and have the sacraments of the Church, you must do as good Catholics do, and submit to the Holy Church. If you persevere in your purpose not to submit to the Church, we could not give you the sacrament you ask.’

“But she replied : ‘I would not know what further to say to you.’

“It was said to her that the more she feared for her life, because of her malady, the more she should amend her life ; that she could not as a Catholic enjoy the rights of the Church without submitting to it.

“She answered : ‘If this body dies in prison, I expect you to bury it in consecrated ground. If you do not do this, I leave the matter to Our Lord.’

“We reminded her that formerly in this process she stated, that if she had said or done anything that opposed the Christian faith, as ordained by Our Lord, she would not sustain it.

“She answered : ‘As to that, I refer to the reply that I then made, and to Our Lord.’”

They changed their tack, harrying her, as they had



done on the witness stand, presently exhorting her to "take the good counsel of the clerks and notable doctors and to believe it was for the salvation of her soul." Then for the last time they demanded if she would submit her words and deeds to the Church Militant. She answered :

"Let happen to me what must, I can do or say nothing further ; I have said it all at my trial." <sup>1</sup>

Five of the doctors now took turns in exhorting her, "as much as they were able," to submit herself and her words, quoting authorities and Scripture, the zealous Nicolas Midi, in particular, showing how unless she yielded to the Church she was no more than a pagan and a publican. Finally they flung at her that unless she submitted she would be abandoned like a Saracen. To which terrible threat, and terrible it was in that day, Joan answered resignedly :

"I am a good Christian properly baptized, and a good Christian I would die."

Would she, they asked, submit if the Church gave her communion ?

She replied that she loved God and served Him. That as a good Christian she wished to aid and sustain the Church with all her power, but that as to the matter of submission she would add nothing further to the answer already given.

"Would you," they tempted, "like us to order a beautiful and notable procession for the restoration of your health?"

"I greatly wish that the Church and the Catholics would pray for me."

The record of the visit ends here. They left her to the care of the guard, John Gray, and his *housepilleurs*. One wonders which was the worst, these, or Cauchon with his pitiless company. How did she manage to live through it all? And the heart asks — why?

## XX

### JOAN ADMONISHED BY THE ASSEMBLED JUDGES

ANOTHER fortnight passed, and it was the second of May. Spring, the wonderful spring of Normandy, had come again, and with it a renewal of strength to the tortured, fever-wasted prisoner. Her tower stood next the fields, so perhaps a breath of May came through the narrow windows; perhaps she could even get a glimpse of meadows in bloom and hills breaking into green. Two years earlier she had been on the eve of her great triumph at Orleans. Today she was to be led in chains to the main hall of the castle, to be admonished before a full assembly as blasphemer, a heretic, and a witch. Even so, she probably looked forward to it; it meant that she must cross the court, where there would be air, even sunlight, and above her the open sky.

More than sixty of the assessors had gathered, and Cauchon delivered a wearisome preamble in which he explained what the others already knew, that Joan's answers had been submitted to learned doctors who had agreed that she was guilty on several counts. For himself, he said, he was still undecided, though he had vainly sought to prevail against the devil in Joan. The assessors had been brought here to help him decide, but first charitably and gently to admonish Joan to return to the way of truth and salvation. "For perhaps your presence, and exhortations made by many, will more easily induce her to humility and obedience."

The bishop now announced that he had delegated Jean de Chatillon to explain to Joan the points on which she was in default, a careful selection, for this assessor had shown some favour to Joan during the early examinations; in fact, had got himself dismissed from court for objecting to the difficulty of the questions.<sup>1</sup> De Chatillon, thus properly chastened, would now address the Maid, but the others were not to refrain from speaking, if moved to do so.

Joan was brought in, and there must have been some among those black-robed men moved to pity by the spectacle of this young girl, broken by imprisonment and lingering illness, yet loaded with chains. Always the chains; even on her bed of illness she had worn them. This was necessary; otherwise the devil might spirit her away.

Cauchon warned her that Archdeacon Jean de Chatillon was about to say many things good for the salvation of her body and soul and that if she did not acquiesce in these counsels and admonitions she would expose herself to great peril. Joan was used to this threat, and to much more that he said in presenting this distinguished professor of sacred theology. The latter held a sheaf of notes in his hand, but he began by addressing to Joan an extempore warning concerning the Articles of Faith and the necessity of correcting her conduct to conform with the opinions of the venerable doctors there present. There had been a time when Joan might have listened to de Chatillon, even respected him. But she had now lost faith in every-

<sup>1</sup>The reader will find this incident on page 155 of this volume.

body — except, possibly, Loiseleur. The speaker pausing, she said bluntly :

“Read your book,” that is to say, his notes, “and then I will answer you. I refer to God, my creator, in all. I love Him with all my heart.”

“Do you wish to reply more at length to this general admonition?”

“I refer to my Judge: the King of heaven and earth.”

De Chatillon’s “book,” consisting of six long articles, was now read. It contained nothing new. The doctors had found grave shortcomings in the prisoner, but in view of her salvation the Church was always ready to be merciful. She had not submitted her visions to the Church (a sore point with the formalist, to this day) and still refused to do so, referring them only to God. The Church could not err, and the Church assured her that the Lord did not wish that human beings should dare hold themselves subject to God alone; that to scorn the men of the Church (d’Estivet, for instance, who had called her a harlot) was to scorn God. Possibly Joan remembered d’Estivet in this connection, also the fact that by consent of this particular arm of the Church she had been kept in a filthy prison, surrounded by unspeakable guards with chains eating into her flesh, even when she was believed dying.

De Chatillon of course dwelt on her wicked clothing, quoting Scripture against it, citing her costume in general as a bad example for other women. He dwelt on her story of the sign as a patent lie which even members of her own party had discredited. Her visions, he

told her, were false, for she had said that her Voices came every day or oftener, when there was no reason why saints should come so frequently, such a thing being without precedent. Furthermore, she had testified only as to their heads, and knew nothing of their other members, which did not in any way accord with the frequency with which she had seen them. Moreover, it was the custom for demons to transfigure themselves into angels of light, to lure into error the unwary whom God permitted to be punished if they did not renounce them and walk in the way of truth. In a word, the Church, which could not err, knew the will of God and the custom of saints, and that Joan was blasphemous, full of presumption, heretical, and given to witchcraft; also, and this was dwelt upon and repeated, she had failed at any time to confide her visions to any priest or prelate of the Church!

De Chatillon finally came to an end, and Joan, who seems to have kept the long-winded articles in her head by number, replied:

"To articles I and II, I reply as heretofore"; though she could well enough have answered that to any of them.

Admonished as to the Church Militant and the article *Unam Sanctam*, etc., she said:

"I believe in the Church here below; but my words and deeds, as at other times I have answered, I refer and account for to God."

— *Item*: she said:

"I believe the Church Militant cannot err or trespass, but as to my words and my actions, I leave them en-



tirely in the hands of God, who has caused me to do what I have done."

Once more she repeated this, in a slightly different form. She was asked :

"Do you believe you have no judge on earth, and that the holy Pope is not your judge?"

"I will say nothing further as to that. I have a good Master — that is to say, Our Lord — to whom I submit in all, and not to another."

She was warned that if she did not believe in the Church and the article *Unam Sanctam*, she would be a heretic and would undergo punishment by fire. She answered :

"I will answer nothing further as to that ; and if I saw the fire before me, I would say all that I say now, and not otherwise."

"*Superba responsio*," wrote Manchon on the margin of his page.

"If the Council General, or our holy father, the Pope, the cardinals, or other men of the Church were here, would you submit to them?"

"You will draw nothing further from me."

This was somewhat farther than she had gone before ; but a moment later, asked if she would submit herself to the Pope, she answered :

"Take me there, and I will reply to him," and otherwise would say nothing further.

They changed to the subject of her dress, with the usual result. She said at last :

"When I have done that for which I was sent by God, I will take the habit of woman."

Did she, they asked, always make the sign of the cross when her saints appeared to her?

Sometimes she did, and other times not.

Was she willing to report the story of the sign (shown the King) to the Archbishop of Reims, de Boussac, La Trémouille, Charles of Bourbon, and others of her party, to whom she claimed had been shown the crown brought by the angel?

"Give me a messenger and I will write to them of all this process." And in no other way would report to them.

"If we should bring to you three or four churchmen of your party, who would come under safe-conducts, would you refer to them touching the apparitions and the things contained in the process?"

"Let them be brought; then I will answer."

"Will you refer and submit yourself to the church of Poitiers, where you were examined?"

"Do you think to entice and catch me in that way?"

She had not a vestige of faith in them, and they knew it. They warned her again of the fires waiting for her body and soul, if she allowed herself to be abandoned by the Church. She answered:

"You will never do what you say against me without evil befalling you, body and soul," words calculated to send a shiver through that craven pack, and be long remembered.

They took turns in admonishing her to submit to the Church, to the Pope, to the Council General, explaining all the perils of refusal. Her reply was always the same.

Cauchon finally urged her to have a care, and to wisely consider these monitions. She asked :

“What time will I have to consider?”

— We replied to her that she must decide on the instant and say what she would do. But as she answered nothing more, we left the place and Joan was reconducted to her prison.

If the reader is confused as to what Cauchon, by this time, really wanted Joan to do, he is probably no worse off than was Cauchon himself. Whether she submitted or not he could burn her, and this he meant to do, his chief wish being to do it in a way that would give his public the least offence. That Joan now showed no inclination to submit even to the Council General at Bâle, could indicate that Loiseleur, always at her ear, was advising against these things (and if so, by Cauchon's orders), or that Joan herself, knowing they would take her neither to Bâle nor to Rome, and suspecting a trap, saw no purpose in yielding to these suggestions.

After all, it might be better to burn the Maid for *not* submitting to the Church. Everybody in that day belonged to the Church, and held by it. To set herself against submission, even to the Council General, even to the Pope, made her, technically at least, a public enemy. The assumption that while Cauchon and the rest were prayerfully, almost tearfully, urging Joan to submit, Loiseleur with Cauchon's connivance was secretly supporting her in stiff-necked refusal, fits both with the report and the statements of those who testified at the Revision.

Manchon, of undoubted integrity, earlier and at length has told of Loiseleur's duplicity. Another, Pierre Miget, one of Cauchon's intimates, and therefore in a position to know, turned tail at the Revision and told of the pretended captive who came to Joan at night and urged her to persist in her declarations, saying that the English would not dare to do her any harm, while Notary Boisguillaume says that Loiseleur, pretending to be a shoemaker from Lorraine, "entered from time to time into Joan's cell and exhorted her not to believe in these churchmen. 'For,' said he, 'if you put faith in them, you will be destroyed.'"<sup>1</sup>

## XXI

THE CHAMBER OF TORTURE. "TRULY, IF YOU SHOULD TEAR ME LIMB FROM LIMB AND PART MY SOUL FROM MY BODY, I WOULD NOT TELL YOU ANYTHING MORE"

WHATEVER now may have been Cauchon's plan, assuming he had one, for Joan's disposal, another matter claimed his immediate attention.

During her examination, Joan from time to time had refused to answer certain questions, notably as to revelations made to her by the saints, and concerning happenings of which her inquisitors apparently had inklings from the outside. These must be matters of vast import, which the Maid ought not to be permitted to carry with her to the stake.

Cauchon resolved on what in common parlance would be termed a bluff. He would threaten her with torture. In the torture chamber, with the instruments before her and the executioners ready, he would demand her replies to a list of questions, with torture as an alternative. He probably had no intention of actually putting her on the rack. There could be no glory in such a proceeding, and it would damage him still further with the people of Rouen, whom he hoped one day to rule.

Nevertheless, all was made ready. Two beadles were summoned to the main tower of the castle where the torture chamber was located, and ordered to lay out the instruments. Cauchon arrived with some eight of the assistants, among them Loiseleur; Jean

Massieu brought Joan, dragging her chains. Cauchon's own report tells what followed better than any phrases we can invent. That he was willing to go on record with such a report is a fact in itself eloquent. The report cites the names of those in attendance; then — it is Cauchon speaking :

— And Joan was required and admonished to reply the truth on numerous and divers points contained in her process, that she had ignored or on which she had lyingly answered, we having upon them certain information, proofs, and vehement presumptions. Several of these points were read and exposed to her; and it was said to her that if she did not avow the truth concerning them she would be put to torture, the instruments for which were shown to her, all in readiness in the tower. And there also stood the men of our service who, by our order, were ready to put her to torture to lead her back to the way of knowledge and truth, and who thereby could gain for her the salvation of her soul and body, which by her lying inventions she exposed to such grave perils.

Possibly Joan had never before seen the appliances of torture, but she well knew their uses. The word "torture" itself means "to twist," and she saw before her instruments cunningly designed to wrest the thumbs from their sockets, strain and snap the tendons, slowly to crush in the skull, to distort and rack and shatter the entire human frame. If she hesitated, the report does not mention the fact; it says:

— To which the said Joan responded thus :

"Truly, if you should tear me limb from limb, and



part my soul from my body, I would not tell you anything more; and if I did tell you something, afterwards I would say always that you made me say it by force.”<sup>1</sup>

Cauchon makes no comment on this answer, but passes to the next item:

— She said that on St. Croix [May 3] she was comforted by Saint Gabriel. “And you may well believe that it was Saint Gabriel,” were her words, and she added that her Voices had assured her of this.

— *Item*: Said that she had asked counsel of her Voices if she should submit to the Church, inasmuch as the men of the Church were so insistent, and her Voices had replied that if she wished Our Lord to aid her she must attend upon Him in all she did. The Lord, she said, had been always master of her deeds and Satan had never had power over them.

— *Item*: Said that she asked her Voices if she would be burned, and the Voices had answered that in this she wait on Our Lord, and that He would aid her.

— Asked as to the sign of the crown that she said had been delivered to the Archbishop of Reims, if she wished to refer that to the said archbishop, replied:

“Have him come here, and let me hear him speak. Then I will answer you. He will not dare to say to the contrary of what I have told you of it.”

The archbishop, now and always her enemy, had, without doubt, already written them the contrary. Like La Trémouille, he was in constant communication with Burgundy. The report of this day closes:

— Now, seeing the callousness of her soul, her manner of replying, we, judges named, fearing that the torments

of the torture would be small profit to her, decided to delay their application until we should have fuller advice.

This test of Joan's courage took place on the ninth of May. The only witness of it to testify at the Revision was Mauger Leparmentier, one of the beadles summoned to apply the torture. He said :

"We were ordered there, my companion and myself, to put Joan to torture. She was examined and comported herself most prudently in her answers — so well that the assistants were in wonderment. Finally my companion and myself retired without having touched her person."

Three days later Cauchon and thirteen of the assessors met to advise on what next should be done, especially concerning the matter of putting Joan to torture. Ten of those present declared against torture ; one of them, Raoul Roussel, offering as a reason that it might bring disrepute upon a process thus far so well conducted. The well-meaning but spineless Isambard, doubtless following what he knew to be Cauchon's intent, opposed torture, but suggested that Joan for the last time be admonished to submit to the Church.

Of the assessors, Thomas de Courcelles, the young zealot, and Aubert Morel were for torture ; also the spy Loiseleur, to whom she may have given some inkling of the things they wished her to confess. Loiseleur offered the suggestion that torture would be "medicine for her soul." However, he was willing to agree with the majority.

## XXII

### THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS REPORTS ON THE TWELVE ARTICLES

**T**ESTIFYING on the first day of March, Joan had intimated that three months would see her delivery — delivery with a great victory. It was now past the middle of May, and the few remaining days were running out swiftly. Eighteen miles below Rouen, La Hire had won, and still held, Louviers, which, while Joan lived, the English would not assail. Several of the assistants later declared that while Joan lived the English would not go near Louviers. Joan very well knew that La Hire was there, such a little way from her, and remembering former exploits of that violent and reckless raider she must at times have cherished the thought that this old comrade, perhaps in company with others — Dunois, Alençon, de Boussac, Poton, and the rest — had planned an assault, a wild wave of battle that would break over the walls of Rouen, dash her enemies aside, and bear her away to freedom. Her heart must have bounded at any unusual noise in the street; she must have strained her ears for the tumult of attack. But the ghastly days went by without a sign or word from any she had known.

Meantime, Cauchon had sent Jean Beaupère, Jacques de Touraine and Nicolas Midi to the University of Paris, armed with the Twelve Articles and other explanatory matter, “to render honour and reverence to our mother the university, and for the greater peace of our con-

sciences and the edification of all"; also, in order that this learned body might render judgment on what the *beau procès* had accomplished, and as to the moral status of the accused.

On the nineteenth of May letters from the university to the English King and Cauchon told of the arrival of their messengers with the Twelve Articles, and enclosed the university's report. The letter to Cauchon declared that Beaupère, de Touraine, and Midi had with elegance laid all the case before them, and that after listening to the entire length of their discourse the university is moved to resolutions of the deepest gratitude "toward your greatness and reverence for never having shown neglect in this renowned work of exaltation of the Divine Name, the integrity and glory of the orthodox faith, the healthy edification of believing people."

The university cannot too highly commend the zeal shown in the prosecution of this woman, "whose poison seems to have infected nearly all the Western World," she having been delivered into their hands by the "favouring grace of Christ." Promptness of action is urged, for delays are dangerous, and punishment proportionate to the offence, "so that when the Prince of Shepherds shall appear He shall deign to attribute to the pastoral zeal of your reverence a crown of glory eternal."

The letter also said that the university had held numerous councils and that the separate faculties of Theology and of Decree had each made a report, copies of which would be submitted to the Pope and to the

General Council — to Cauchon a matter of words, he having no intention of waiting for that distant approval.

The Faculty of Theology analyzed the Twelve Articles in turn, and their conclusions may be briefly summarized.

Joan's revelations were either lying pretences, or they were inspired by demons, such as Belial, Satan, and Behemoth, the last named a particularly baleful devil in the form of a hippopotamus.

The story of the sign shown to the King — Joan's sad fantasy of marching into the audience chamber, accompanied by Saint Michael and a troop of bright beings which the King and others saw — they branded a presumptuous falsehood, reflecting on the dignity of angels.

Her gift of prophecy was no more than divination inspired by demons, or was vain boasting.

The Maid in wearing man's dress was a blasphemer toward God, contemptress of Our Lord, prevaricator of the divine law and ecclesiastic sanctions.

Her letters showed that she was thirsty for human blood, and she was again a blasphemer toward God in the orders and revelations attributed to Him.

In leaving home without her parents' permission, she had broken the divine commandment to honour father and mother.

In jumping from the tower she had attempted suicide; she had been presumptuous in asserting the sin forgiven.

She had been further presumptuous and rash in assert-



ing God's favour for certain people and parties (as for instance the Duke of Orleans and the French), blasphemous toward Saints Catherine and Margaret, transgressing the commandment to love one's neighbour.

An idolater and invoker of demons, she had uttered false oaths. Finally, in refusing to refer her words and deeds to the Church, she was schismatic, evil-thinking as to its unity and authority, obstinately erring in the matter of faith.

The Faculty of Decree added little to these conclusions, except that in failing to show a sign, such as Moses had shown in Egypt when he changed a rod into a serpent, and vice versa, this woman must speak falsely in saying that she is sent from God. Also in cutting off her hair which God had given her for a veil she has shown herself an apostate.

The faculty recommended that the accused be abandoned to the discretion of the civil judges, to receive a sentence suited to the importance of her crime. The letters and conclusions of the university are interesting and important, but their length precludes more than this brief summary.<sup>1</sup>

It is the fashion to denounce the university for its deductions and for recommending Joan's conviction, but on the evidence as presented in the Twelve Articles—articles as fair as any twelve statements prepared by the prosecution are ever likely to be—it is difficult to see how the two faculties could have done otherwise, even had they so desired, which they did not. Given the dogma and ecclesiastical practice of the period, with the added fact that Joan was a dreaded and dangerous enemy,



upon whom they had long been eager to lay hands, the reports of the university are, if anything, more temperate than might have been expected. Human beings in all ages have shown little enough consideration for the sensibilities and motives of a captured enemy. Nathan Hale and Major André, each to his own nation a martyr, to this day invite no deep or general sympathy from the other side.

As to the charge that the university reversed the verdict of Poitiers, that is merely childish. Courts in all ages have been busy reversing verdicts to fit the demands of those having the will and strength to enforce them. Twenty-five years later Joan's verdict would be again reversed, and through no motives of justice, or pity, or remorse, but only because Charles in power wished to purge his title of the taint of having been won through witchcraft. The university's verdict was a foregone conclusion, and compares very well with other enemy verdicts of history.

Cauchon and the assessors, duly assembled, deliberated on the university report and registered each his opinion. The general agreement was that if Joan did not return to the way of truth and salvation she was to be reckoned a heretic. Some went a step farther and advised that she be handed over to the civil authorities for sentence, suggesting that a day would be enough in which to conclude the case. A few, like Lefèvre, Ladvenu, and the unhappy Isambard, postponing as long as possible the evil day, voted that the Maid be once more admonished (she had already been admonished so often that one loses count of the times), after

which, if she would not obey the Church, her case was to be referred to the civil judges for sentence.

With the exception of Cauchon, d'Estivet, Loiseleur, and their kind, small blame can be attached to the assessors. Putting aside the fact that they stood in fear and trembling and dared not express convictions favourable to Joan, the Maid's case on its merits was desperate enough. Vile as had been the motives of her prosecution, inhuman as had been her treatment, base as had been the procedure, Joan, under the laws of that day, on at least two counts — the matter of her dress, forbidden by the Gospel, and her refusal to submit to the Church Militant — was guilty of blasphemy and of heresy. To the enemy mind her prophecies and visions were likewise culpable; they had been questioned even by her friends; Pierronne a year before had gone to the flames for much less. Whatever opinion certain of the assessors might personally hold of the righteousness of her purpose, the lofty purity of her motives, and the genuineness of her visions, they could not escape the fact that she was technically guilty, and that nothing short of a miracle could save her from the stake.

Cauchon, who wished to appear the tender shepherd, and with the public always in mind, was not quite ready for extreme measures. The case was now entirely in his hands. Joan was no longer in danger of dying; he could mercifully delay. The meeting adjourned with the agreement that the Maid was to be once more charitably admonished to return to the way of truth, failing to do which, a day would be fixed for her sentence.

## XXIII

### THE LAST ADMONITION. JOHANNÆ RESPONSIO SUPERBA

BUT Cauchon had now, or presently developed, a new idea. One of the assessors, Master Raoul le Sauvage, in offering his opinion, had proposed that Joan be admonished *in public, before the people*. Cauchon, revolving this suggestion in his mind, found it attractive. He would take the public into his confidence; the people should be shown an example of Joan's stiff-necked heresy and his own charitable pleading for repentance. If in the end she still refused, she should be burned straightway; the executioner and the stake would be waiting. Who would object? Who *could* object?

But perhaps at the last moment Joan would recant; what then? Well, let her! Such a repentance would not last. He knew Joan. A few days at most and there would come revulsion, and relapse. Relapse! Repentance and relapse, the unpardonable sin! That was better still. Weakened, dazed, beset, with the flames before her Joan must be *driven* to recant, to abjure—then, to *relapse*. With everything in his hands it would all be easy to contrive, and for the relapsed penitent who would dare to speak? Cauchon must have hugged himself at the new idea. It had been a long and sometimes bitter struggle, but the end was in sight. Already the flames brightened his world.

He would go softly. First, Joan must once more and

for the last time be patiently directed to the path of duty, and charitably, even tenderly, urged to follow it. To confront her abruptly with the alternate of abjuration or the stake would not comport with the dignity of the *beau procès*, whose beauties were now acknowledged by the University of Paris. Joan must hear what the university had to say of her, and once more privately invited to seek mercy from the Church Militant. Pierre Maurice, the priest who during the examination had explained the difference between the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, was now selected to labour with her. Maurice, in his thirties, was already a canon of the church of Rouen, gifted, zealous, and eloquent.

May 23 Joan was conducted to a room of the château near her tower and found herself facing a small group of judges, among them Maurice, who began reading to her the substance of the Twelve Articles, with the university's conclusions on each. Joan, as was her habit, apparently listened without interruption of any sort. The reading at an end, Maurice proceeded with the admonition :

"Joan, very dear friend, it is time now at the close of your trial to weigh well what has been said." Thus he began, and proceeding in this kindly strain reminded her that she had been repeatedly admonished, gravely warning her as to the consequences of persisting in her refusal, urging her not to separate herself from Christ who had created her to have part in His glory.

The priest's words somehow have a sincere sound. Even if he did not believe that Joan could be saved

from the stake (and how could he?), he seems to have been earnestly concerned as to her soul's welfare. Being orthodox, he held her visions as the work of evil spirits; but perhaps he believed in her sincerity as well. Pierre Maurice fairly represented the better element among the assessors. He was also perceptive. He cited examples showing the necessity of giving proofs of authority, and of rendering obedience to those divinely appointed to rule.

"Consider this," he said: "in the seigneurie of your King, when you were there, if some knight or other, born in the domain, had risen up, saying: 'I will not obey the King, nor submit to any of his officers,' would you not have said that he should be condemned? What, then, will you say of yourself who was bred in the faith of Christ through the sacrament of baptism, you who became a daughter of the Church and the spouse of Christ, if you do not obey the officers of Christ, the prelates of the Church? What judgment will you render of yourself? I pray you desist from your words if you love God, your Creator, your precious Spouse and your salvation, and obey the Church in submitting yourself to its judgment."

There was much more, and in the end he rose to real heights, pleading that she submit to the Church's determination, by doing which she would save her soul, and, he hoped, redeem her body from death. As an alternate, he feared destruction for the body, and he promised damnation for her soul. It is noticeable that he does not promise immunity from the fire as the reward of submission — he only hopes for it. Nothing

could have delivered Joan from the stake. From the start the English meant to burn her. Warwick during her illness had made this plain to Dr. Delachambre — the end was written from the beginning. Maurice at the moment may not have known this, but he must strongly have suspected it.

Apparently Joan uttered no word during the reading and the long imploration that followed it. Required now to answer, she said only what she had said so often :

“As to my deeds and my words, I refer to what I have said in the process, and will stand by it.”

“Do you think you are not held to submit your words and deeds to the Church Militant, or to other than God?”

“As to that, what I have always said and held during the process I maintain still.” Then she added :

“If I stood in judgment and saw the fire lit, and the faggots burning, and the executioner willing to put out the fire; and if I stood in the fire, I would say nothing more, and would hold by what I have said in the process, until death.”

Here for the third time Manchon wrote on the margin of his page, *Johannae responsio superba* (Joan's proud response). To this day it stands there, adding its touch of reality.

Joan's trial had reached its official end. Cauchon, holding in his hand the necessary document, approached her and solemnly declaring that her case was concluded, assigned next day for the delivery of her sentence and for such further procedure “as should be required by law and right.”



The judges retired and Joan was taken back to her cell. So far as anybody knew it was to be her last night on earth. Whether Joan believed it or not, her guards did, and they would not fail to remind her of it and paint for her benefit the tortures of the fire.

Joan's state of mind at this hour can only be dimly surmised. She may have begun to waver, for later she said that her Voices had told her she would yield. All the doctors, even the most friendly, held her in sin, and now the great university. Pierre Maurice's illustration of the rebellious knight was one she could understand. As she lay on her wretched bed she may have revolved these things in her mind, but she could hardly have been in a condition to think clearly on any course of action. For a year she had been a captive and for five months had lain in this loathsome prison, in the midst of horrors unspeakable. Never night or day, even when sick unto death, had she been rid of the chains that shackled her feet and hands and enclosed her body; never had she been rid of the obscene, blaspheming, menacing guards except when summoned by those who would trap her to her death. The physical and mental torture of her days and nights cannot be put into words, or even imagined. That she was unnerved, weakened, her mental balance disturbed, may be taken for granted. Joan was not an angel, but a human being, and the human being never lived of which this would not have been true. The marvel is that she escaped insanity, or worse.

That Joan did not penetrate Loiseleur's disguise is sufficient evidence of her dulled faculties, and there is

plenty of testimony that she was influenced, if not directed, by the spy. It was common knowledge among the assessors that he saw her constantly, and that he played the double rôle, or, as Manchon calls it, the "comedy part" of priest and captive, being the only one to whom she was allowed to confess. How much or how little he influenced her, remains the merest guess. Joan might in all cases have answered as she did without the ministrations of this reptile. We cannot know. The reader is given the testimony; he must judge for himself.

## XXIV

THE ABJURATION. "BY MY FAITH, MESSIRE, WITH ALL DUE REVERENCE, SPEAK NOT OF MY KING"

IT was early next morning (May 24) that Massieu arrived in Joan's prison, to conduct her to the cemetery adjoining the church of St. Ouen, where she was to be *prêchée*, or sermonized, and later burned, if she persisted in her refusal to recant. Massieu seems to have been accompanied by Manchon and certain of the assessors, including Jean Beaupère. Loiseleur, as usual, was on hand, acting as her counsel, advising now that she yield to her judges. This comes from Manchon, who says :

"To assist her she had as counsel Nicolas Loiseleur, who, as she stood near a small door, said to her : 'Joan, believe me ; because, if you will it, you will be saved. Take the dress of your sex, and do all that you will be commanded. Otherwise, you are in peril of death. I repeat, if you do what I tell you, nothing bad will happen to you. You will have much that is good and you will be restored to the Church.'"

Beaupère, according to his own testimony, also spoke to her.

"If you are a good Christian," I said to her, "you will say that you submit all your acts and words to our holy mother the Church, and especially to the ecclesiastical judges."

According to Beaupère, Joan readily consented to do this, which seems doubtful in view of what followed.

She was now taken in a cart to St. Ouen, where two scaffolds had been erected, on one of which was Cauchon and a number of the assistants ; on the other Joan and the preacher, Guillaume Érard ; also, of course, Bailiff Massieu, and presumably Loiseleur. Waiting near by with his cart was the executioner, ready to take her to the stake. A great crowd had assembled.

From the official report of what followed one might be led to believe that all went very quietly. The report says that Érard took as his text the words from Saint John : "The branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine" and "solemnly deduced therefrom that all Catholics must abide in the true vine of our holy mother the Church that Christ had planted."

The sermon finished, the preacher indicated the judges and called upon Joan to submit to them, there being many things in her words and deeds which they considered not proper to maintain.

— To which Joan replied : "I will answer you." And of submission to the Church, said : "On that point I have told them : 'Let all the things I have said and done be reported to Rome, to our holy father, the Pope, to whom, after God, I refer them.' As to my words and deeds, I have said and done them through God. I lay them on nobody, neither on my King nor any other. If there has been wrong in them, I am to blame and no other." <sup>1</sup>

Asked if her words and deeds were disapproved by the judges, she would revoke them, answered :

"I refer them to God, and to our holy father, the Pope."

APSE OF THE CHURCH OF SAINT OUVEN  
SOMEWHERE IN THESE GROUNDS, THEN A CEMETERY, JOAN OF ARC MADE HER ABJURATION.







*Above:* THE OLD MARKET, MAY 30, 1431  
*Below:* THE OLD MARKET TODAY



It was told her that this would not suffice ; that one could not seek the Pope at such a distance ; also, that the Ordinaries (the customary judges of heretics) had authority, each in his diocese ; for which reason it was needful that she refer to the Church.

Three monitions followed, and upon Joan having nothing further to say, Cauchon began reading the sentence. When a large portion of it had been read, Joan, speaking up, said that she would abide by the requirements of the Church, on all points, and several times said that since the Church declared that her apparitions and revelations were not to be believed, she would not maintain them, but in all would refer to the Church.

Whereupon, in the presence of the judges and a great multitude she made and declared her revocation and abjuration, in the form of a certain document, read to her in French. "She pronounced this abjuration with her lips and signed it with her own hand."

This, slightly condensed, is the official report, which contains also the text of the Abjuration, a document of some five hundred words. In it Joan is shown to confess to all the crimes with which she has been charged, and to renounce all the things she has maintained.

Following this is the sentence, which Cauchon read to her, condemning her to perpetual imprisonment, her fare to be the "bread of affliction and the water of sadness" in order that she may weep for her transgressions, and sin no more.

Had there been no revision of Joan's trial the world would have been obliged to accept this cool, unruffled

story, just as for the most part it has perforce accepted the smoothly written reports of other episodes of the process. Reading it, we see Joan referring her words and acts, for which she assumes entire responsibility, to the Pope; then in the midst of her sentence yielding rather eagerly to the mercy of the Church. All passes off quietly; ends as a *beau procès* should.

Happily for history, there is an abundance — indeed almost an embarrassment — of more personal narrative. Of Cauchon's assessors who were summoned to appear at the Revision, no fewer than eighteen told what they could recall of the morning at St. Ouen. Their accounts, though varying in minor details, agree remarkably when we consider the confusion of the moment, and that twenty-five years had elapsed between the events and the testimony. Hardly a phase of the occurrence is lacking.<sup>1</sup>

For one thing, we learn that Érard, who preached to Joan, had no liking for his assignment.

"I would gladly be in Flanders," he told his clerk, de Lenzoles; "this affair is to me most disagreeable."

Érard's irritation may have made him all the more violent, for according to Manchon, Massieu, Isambard, and the others he denounced the accused with great ferocity. There had never been in France, he said, such a monster as was revealed in Joan. She was a sorceress, heretic, schismatic; and the King who had protected her had become all of these things the moment he had wished to recover his throne through such a character.

"Ha, France," cried Erard, "thou art greatly wronged!

Thou who hast been the shelter of Christianity. Charles, who calls himself King, attaches himself like a heretic and a schismatic to the words and deeds of an evil woman, defamed and full of dishonour. And not only himself, but all the clergy following in his seignury, by whom she has been examined, as she has said !”

“Érard,” says Massieu, who quotes this, “repeated two or three times the words concerning the King. Then addressing himself to Joan and raising his finger, he said :

“‘It is to thee, Joan, that I am speaking ; and I say to thee that thy King is a heretic and a schismatic !’

“To which she replied :

“‘By my faith, messire, with all due reverence, I dare say to you, and to swear at the risk of my life, that he is the most noble Christian of all the Christians, and best loves the faith and the Church. He is by no means what you say !’

“‘Make her keep still !’ Érard said to me.”

Manchon, Ladvenu, and others also tell this incident, agreeing almost exactly on the form of Joan’s defence of the King who had deserted her. For an hour at least the fierce black-robed figure bent over the girl, emptying upon her head a torrent of vilification, which must have left her dazed and bewildered. On the adjoining scaffold sat other black-robed men, with hard, un-pitying faces. Below waited the executioner’s cart and the soldiers. In all directions pressed the multitude, feeding upon the sight of her, impressed by the preacher’s storm of invective, eager for the promised spectacle.

If Joan realized anything besides these things, it may have been that she was once more in the sunshine, that the sky above her was blue, that again it was glorious spring when it was not easy to leave the world. If she remembered anything, she may dimly have recalled other pressing crowds, that less than two years ago had surged about her with tears and rejoicings, to touch her hands and kiss her garments.

Érard rose to the heights of peroration and bringing his seemingly endless sermon to a close began reading the articles which Joan was required to abjure and revoke. Massieu on the same scaffold says that Joan did not understand the document, and that he was asked by Érard to read it to her, a statement confirmed by another witness.

"I remember," says Massieu, "that it was to the effect that Joan would not wear arms, nor man's dress, nor have her hair cut short, not counting other points which I do not recall. This script contained but seven lines, eight at most." <sup>1</sup>

The official report does not mention that the scene now became stormy, but of this there is ample evidence. Massieu says that as Joan was pressed to sign, a great murmur arose among the spectators. Joan was about to escape — they would be deprived of their spectacle. In this critical moment Massieu warned Joan of the peril that menaced her.

"I saw very well that she did not comprehend. . . .  
Érard said to me :

"'Counsel her for this abjuration!'

"At first I excused myself ; then I said to Joan :

“Understand well, if you go against any of these articles [after signing] you will be burned.”

Massieu adds that he advised her to refer to the Universal Church and that she did so, only to be told by Érar<sup>d</sup> that unless she signed forthwith she would be burned that very day.

It must have been at this point that Joan demanded that her case be submitted to the Pope — hardly in the calm manner of the report, for she was at the end of her resources — while from the other scaffold Cauchon shouted back at her that he and the others were her proper judges. That she made such a demand is certain, and Cauchon such a reply, or the official report would by no means have recorded it.

Meantime, according to Manchon, Cauchon, who had prepared two sentences, had produced the one of condemnation and begun reading it, with Loiseleur steadily urging Joan to yield and take woman's dress. Bewildered, distraught, overborne, understanding little and comprehending less, Joan at some point in the confusion agreed to sign, saying, according to Massieu who was nearest her, that she would rather sign than be burned. Delachambre, who was present, says that Érar<sup>d</sup> determined her, by telling her that if she did as she was counselled she would be delivered from prison. It may be so.

What seems to be the clearest account just here is the testimony of Beaupère's clerk, Jean Monnet, the same being present, seated at his master's feet. In the midst of the reading of the sentence, he says, Joan declared that “if she was counselled by the churchmen,



and if what they asked of her agreed with their consciences, she would willingly do as advised. At these words, the Bishop of Beauvais, addressing himself to the Cardinal of England [Winchester] asked what he should do in the matter of Joan's submission. The cardinal answered that he should admit her to penitence."

Cauchon put aside the sentence he was reading. In the pause that followed, an English priest, evidently believing that Joan was about to escape, called out to Cauchon that he was an abettor of Joan, or, according to Manchon, a traitor.

"You lie!" shouted Cauchon; "in such a case I would favour no one. By law I must seek the salvation of her body and her soul!"

This or something else started a commotion in the crowd. Those who had come hoping to see Joan burned were to be disappointed. Massieu speaks of a great tumult amid which stones were thrown, whether at the priests and Joan, or at one another he does not say. The cardinal reprimanded the English priest, who is thought to have been his chaplain. Perhaps this restored order, so that Joan could sign. According to Aimond de Macy, who here appears for the last time, a secretary of the King of England drew from his sleeve a paper which he gave to the Maid.

"'But I can neither read nor write,' she said. Notwithstanding this, the secretary, Laurent Calot, gave Joan the document, and a pen with which to sign. In a derisive manner, Joan made a species of circle. Then Laurent Calot took Joan's hand which held the pen, and caused her to trace a sign."



And de Macy, always a gallant enemy, adds: "My belief is Joan is in paradise."

Manchon and others say that Joan smiled as she signed the paper, which caused some to say that the abjuration was a farce, and this stirred further indignation among the English. It was, in fact, a farce, for that smile reflected a mind driven beyond the bounds of responsibility. When all is considered, by what process of reasoning could she be held accountable for her act? Yet volumes have been written on the nature and extent of Joan's sin. Such a confusion of tongues and of doctrines over the motives and mental processes of a hounded, half-demented girl!

Much also has been made of the fact that the paper read to Joan by Massieu contained not above seven lines or so, being, as one or more witnesses said, about the length of the Lord's Prayer; whereas the abjuration as printed in the report is more than seven times that length, containing much that Joan could not have heard, and therefore did not subscribe to.

Except as it relates to the guilt of her enemies, this is of slight importance. Joan that morning had arrived at a condition where she would indifferently have subscribed to anything. She would have signed whatever they placed before her.

Testimony of Master of Requests, Jean Fave:

"After the preaching at St. Ouen, Joan was reconducted to the prison of the château of Rouen. The soldiers insulted her, and their leaders allowed them to do it. In fact the principal ones among the English were in great indignation against the Bishop of Beau-

vais, the doctors, and assessors, because Joan had not been declared guilty, condemned, and delivered to execution. The indignation was such that at the moment when the doctors returned to the château, some English, saying that they had badly earned the King's money, raised their swords as if to strike them.

"I have also heard it said that after the preaching Warwick complained to the bishop and the doctors.

"‘The King is badly upheld,’ said he, ‘since Joan escapes.’

"To which one of them answered :

"‘My lord, have no worry on that score ; we shall easily catch her again.’”

As to that, it made little difference to Warwick whether they caught her again or not. By the terms under which she had been delivered to the Church for trial, Joan in any case would revert to the English.

Cauchon's report fails to mention that any request was made of him to transfer Joan now to the Church prisons where she would find a semblance of decency, with female attendants. For this we must go to Massieu and Manchon. The former testified that on leaving the St. Ouen he advised Joan that she ask to be placed in the prisons of the Church, this being her right, since the Church had condemned her, and that the same thing was requested of the Bishop of Beauvais by some of the assistants. But the bishop replied :

"Take her back where she came from !”

Manchon fills in the picture :

"As we returned from the preaching at St. Ouen, Loiseleur said to the Maid :

“‘Joan, you have done a good day’s work. If God pleases, you have saved your soul.’

“‘Well, then,’ she said, ‘you men of the Church, among you, take me to your prisons, and leave me no longer in the hands of the English.’

“Upon which my lord of Beauvais :

“‘Take her where you got her from !’

“In consequence of which, Joan was led back to the château which she had left.”

This is all overlooked in the report ; also the detail of the priests being threatened by the guards. Isambard says that the English drove them from the château, and that Master Jean Lafontaine left Rouen to return no more. The last is not surprising. Joan’s chief examiner had never been in sympathy with the process, and now washed his hands of it forever.

Matters must presently have quieted down, for Cauchon, with Isambard and others, visited Joan that afternoon. This is noted in the report, which is here worth quoting. God’s goodness to Joan is explained to her :

It was shown to her by us, and by our assessors, how this day God had accorded her great favour, and also the men of the Church had shown her great mercy in receiving her into the grace and pardon of our Holy Mother Church ; for which reason it was proper that she, Joan, submit herself humbly, and obey the sentence and commands of my lords the judges, and the men of the Church ; that she abandon entirely her errors and her former inventions, to return to them no more. And they explained to her that in case she should return to her former transgressions, never again in the future would the Church receive her in mercy,

and that she would be entirely abandoned. It was further told her that she would quit her male garments and take those of woman, as she had been commanded by the Church.

Joan, says the report, told them that she was willing to take woman's dress and in all submit to the Church. Apparently the churchmen had brought the female garments with them, and she at once retired to such meagre privacy as her prison afforded and put them on.<sup>1</sup>

The report then says that her hair, which she had hitherto worn *en rond*, she permitted to be entirely removed ; doubtless assured that this was in preparation for a new and longer growth.<sup>2</sup>

## XXIV

### RELAPSE

WE shall never know certainly the story of the next three days and nights, but only that for Joan they formed a period of horror. Something of the details, revealed by the half-crazed girl to friendly souls like Massieu, Isambard, and Ladvenu, have been recorded, and from them one may piece together a semblance of the black reality.

Joan told Ladvenu and Isambard that she had been set upon by her guards, and that an English lord, admitted to her prison, had attempted her violation. What hideous hours of struggle had she gone through!

"In fact," says Isambard, "I saw her weeping, her face full of tears, and disfigured and outraged in such a manner that I was moved to pity and compassion."

These things were sufficient to make her resume male dress, but Massieu contributes an account, told him, as he says, by Joan herself, which would show that she had nevertheless taken it unwillingly. According to Massieu, her page's costume had been put into a sack and left in her cell. On Sunday morning she asked that she be unchained from her bed so that she could get up. One of the guards took from her her female dress (*lui osta ses habillemens de femme*) while another emptied the sack in which was the man's clothing. This he threw on the bed, saying to her: "Get up!" and put the woman's dress into the sack.

She pleaded that this was forbidden her, "but they

would give her no clothing, though the contention lasted till midday." In the end Joan was obliged to cover herself with the forbidden garments. She had been easily caught, as had been predicted — as easily caught as any other helpless captive. This was on the third day following her abjuration, the same being Trinity Sunday, May 27. It is a black chapter, with mysterious and puzzling features that in view of the official report become even more so.

The news that Joan had relapsed was borne swiftly to Cauchon, and indeed throughout the city. The bishop and Warwick sent a handful of assistants hurrying to the château, to establish this fact by eye testimony. But the English castle guards had lost faith in the priests and drove them away with fierce threats.

On the next day, Monday, May 28, Warwick having assured the safety of the delegation, Joan was visited. The official report says that they found her clothed in *robe courte*, *chaperon*, *pourpoint*, etc., that is to say in her former costume, and being asked when, and for what reason, she had resumed man's dress, she answered that she had recently done so, "and of her own will, with no constraint, and that she preferred man's dress to that of woman." <sup>1</sup>

The report continues that when reminded of her oath not to resume male dress she said she did not understand that she had made such an oath.

— Asked [again] for what reason she had taken it, replied that because it was more proper [*plus licite*] for her to resume man's dress, being among men, than to have on the dress of woman. Said that she had



taken it again because our promise to her had not been kept; that is to say, that she should go to mass and receive communion, and that she should be unchained.

— Asked if she had not abjured, and especially sworn not to resume man's dress, replied that she would rather die than be in chains; but that if we would allow her to go to mass and would take off the chains, and put her in a suitable prison where there was a woman, she would be good and do what the Church wished.<sup>1</sup>

The misery behind these calm official lines! How it finds its way across the centuries. She would rather die than be in irons. She had dragged their galling burden through all the fearful months, sleeping with "her body wrapped by a chain, which crossing the foot of her bed was fastened to a great piece of wood, and locked with a key." Even a small, unrelieved burden becomes at times almost unbearable. What, then, must this young girl, loaded down with shackles, have endured!

And her plea for a suitable prison: she was willing to promise anything for this poor grace. We have here another, and different, Joan — Joan, the stout-hearted, of the world's elect, reduced by methods worthy of Iroquois Indians to a mere semblance of the conqueror at Orleans and Patay. "I will be good," she told them; it is a child that speaks.

They asked her if she had heard her Voices since Thursday, the day at St. Ouen. She replied that she had; that God through Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret had sent word of the great pity of her sin in consenting to damn herself to save her life.

Here for the last time on the margin of the notary's page is a comment; only, this time, it is "*Responsio mortifera*" "fatal answer."

Continuing, she said that before Thursday her Voices had told her that she would do this, and that on the scaffold before the people they had told her to reply boldly to the preacher, a false preacher, she said, charging her with many things she had not done. She added that should she say God had not sent her she would damn herself, for it was true that she was sent by God. Her Voices, she said, had since told her that she had done great wrong in denying herself. It was through fear of the fire that she had said what she did.

It is not supposable that she was saying these things coolly, but with the emotion of great anguish, and of despair. Asked if she believed her Voices to be those of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, she replied that she did, and that they came from God. Asked as to the sign, the crown, replied :

"Of all that I have told you the truth in the process, the best that I knew."

She had not intended, she said, to deny Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, and she would rather die at once than to endure any longer the torture of prison (*que endurer plus longuement paine en chartre*). She had done nothing against God and the faith, and the things named in the abjuration she had not understood. If the judges wished, she would resume woman's dress. For the rest, she could do nothing.

Whereupon the judges retired, to take the action warranted "by law and justice."

# RESPENSIO MORTIFERA.

(Facsimile of the record)

Interrogata quid sibi dixerunt  
 Respondit qd deus mandavit sibi qd sanctae Katharinæ et margaritæ  
 magna pietate illius grandis prodicionis in quam ipsa Johanna  
 consenserat faciendo abjuracionem et revocationem pro salvando  
 vitam suam et qd ipsa se damnaret pro salvando vitam suam. Item.  
 Dixit qd ante diem jovis voces sue sibi dixerunt illud quod ipsa  
 illo die faceret. et qd qd tunc ipsa fecit. Dixit ultra pro voce sue sibi  
 dixerunt qn erat in scaffaldo seu ambone coram populo qd  
 audacter responderet illi prædicatori qui tunc prædicabat dicebat qd  
 eadem Johanna quod ille erat falsus prædicator et qd plura dixerat  
 ea fecisse qd ipsa non fecerat. Item dixit qd ipsa dixerat qd deus non misisset  
 eam ipsa damnaret se. et qd veraciter deus ipsam misit.

Responsio  
 mortifera

Affirmo ut supra

Text: Interrogata quid sibi dixerunt: respondit quod  
 Deus mandavit sibi, per sanctas Katharinam et Margaretam,  
 magnam pietatem illius grandis prodicionis in quam ipsa Jo-  
 hanna consenserat, faciendo abjuracionem et revocationem  
 pro salvando vitam suam; et quod ipsa se damnaverat pro  
 salvando vitam suam. Item dixit quod, ante diem jovis,  
 voces suae sibi dixerunt illud quod ipso illo die faceret et  
 quod protum ipsa fecit. Dixit ultro quod voces suae sibi  
 dixerunt quando erat in scaffaldo seu ambone, coram populo,  
 quod audacter responderet illi prædicatori, qui tunc prædi-  
 cabat, dicebatque eadem Johanna quod ille erat falsus prædi-  
 cator et quod plura dixerat eam fecisse quae ipsa non fecerat.  
 Item dixit quod, si ipsa diceret quod Deus non misisset eam,  
 ipsa damnaret se, et quod veraciter Deus ipsam misit.

Responsio  
 mortifera

Affirmo ut supra,

Boseguillaume.

Translation, in substance, of this extract is given in the final paragraph of page  
 289 continued in the second paragraph of page 290, to the words "sent from God,"  
 end of seventh line.

So much for the official report, which, like that of the proceedings at St. Ouen, is probably true as far as it goes. Joan on the scaffold, in a moment of bewilderment and fear, apparently foreseen, had broken down. Now, with such resources as remained to her, such mental and spiritual strength as she could still command, she was back on her old ground; in fact, had relapsed, preferring to die at once, as she said, rather than remain longer as she was. The report must have been supervised by Manchon, so it is proper to illuminate it with his personal and fuller account of that long-ago morning when Joan of Arc's *responsio mortifera* condemned her to the flames. Says Manchon:

"On the Sunday morning following the abjuration, day of the Trinity, we clerks and others having to do with the process were ordered by the bishop and the Earl of Warwick to betake ourselves to the château of Rouen. Joan, we were told, had resumed man's dress, and had relapsed.

"We went to the château, but when we arrived at the main court, in the absence of my lord of Beauvais, the English in arms came to attack us. There were at least fifty, perhaps eighty, perhaps even a hundred. They denounced us, saying that all we men of the Church were false, traitors, Armagnacs, and evil counsellors, having spoiled the trial. According to my belief they were thus in anger because Joan had not been burned following the first preaching and sentence. It was with great difficulty, and not without great fear, that we were able to escape their hands and leave the château. We did nothing that day.

"The next day, Monday, I was again ordered to the château by the bishop and the earl. I answered that I would not go without the assurance of entire safety, in view of my fear of the day before; and in fact I would not have returned had it not been for the escort sent me from the people of my lord of Warwick, who conducted me as far as the prison where I found the two judges [Cauchon and Lemaître], and some others with them, but in small number.

"In my presence Joan was asked why she had resumed man's dress. She replied that she had done so to defend her decency, because she had no safety in the dress of a woman, with her guards, who had wished to violate her honour, a thing of which she had complained several times to the bishop and the earl; that moreover the judges had promised her that she should be in the hands and in the prisons of the Church, with a woman for company. She added that if it was the pleasure of the judges to put her in a safe place, where she was without fear, she was disposed to resume the habit of her sex, as has been noted in the process. As to the rest of the things that had been abjured, she said that she had comprehended nothing that was contained in this abjuration. All that she had done had been done through fear of the fire, having before her eyes the executioner, ready with his cart."

This has the ring of truth and fills out some of the bare places in the official report. Isambard, who was also present, has this to add:

"Before all the attendants, as she was declared heretic, obstinate, and relapsed, she replied openly:

“‘If you, my lords of the Church, had placed and guarded me in your prisons, these things would not have happened.’

“Joan was judged relapsed for having resumed man’s dress. In leaving her presence the Bishop of Beauvais said to the English who waited outside :

“‘Farewell, have good cheer ! It is all over !’

“Myself, I saw and heard the bishop when he rejoiced with the English and said before everyone, to Lord Warwick and the others :

“‘She is caught !’”

One would be inclined to doubt this open exultation on Cauchon’s part, but Isambard’s testimony is supported by that of another witness of good standing. Brother Martin Ladvenu tells how the bishop leaving prison said “with laughter on his lips,” to the Earl of Warwick and the crowd of English about him :

“Farewell, farewell, it is done ! Have good cheer !”

The first two words were spoken in English, Cauchon having lived in England and acquired some knowledge of that language.



## XXV

### THE JUDGMENT

NEXT morning — it was Tuesday, May 29 — the Bishop of Beauvais and his assessors, some forty in number, assembled in the chapel of the archbishop's palace, this time to render judgment on Joan the Maid, "sorceress, blasphemer, and relapsed heretic."

To his black-robed tribunal Cauchon reviewed the events of the ten days which had expired since they had met there to act on the university's report. Joan had been admonished, according to their decision then made. She had been obstinate, and the case had been closed. She had been summoned to St. Ouen to be *prêchée* and sentenced. She had there revoked and abjured her errors, and had been charitably admonished to persist in these good resolves.

But at the suggestion of the devil, once more, before several witnesses, she had related that the Voices and spirits that were accustomed to manifest themselves to her had returned, and had told her many things. Furthermore, Joan, laying off the dress of woman, had taken once more the dress of man. Which things having been reported to him, the judges had visited and questioned the accused. Here Cauchon read his report of that visit, and at the end demanded their counsels and deliberations, that is to say, of each — his vote.

The chapel of the archbishop's palace was a dim, sombre place. Cauchon presiding from the altar faced

forty black-gowned men, in final assembly. The *beau procès* had reached its end. Some of the faces were grim, others sad. The place was heavy with silence.

Nicolas Venderès, Archbishop of Eu, trusted intimate of Cauchon, sixty years old, rose to deliver his verdict. Joan, he said, was a heretic. They, her judges, having passed sentence, she must be abandoned to civil justice, with the request that it *deal with her tenderly*.

The delicate intent of that last phrase is only appreciated when we learn that it was by this polite fiction that the Church designated *death by fire*. The Church must not of itself put to death. It must only abandon to civil justice, asking that the condemned be dealt with *doucement*, sweetly, tenderly.

Gilles, abbé de Fécamp, whose opinion from the beginning had been highly respected and much followed, likewise declared Joan relapsed. Nevertheless, the document of abjuration should be read to her again, and she must be again *prêchée*. After which, declared heretic, she was to be abandoned to secular justice, asking tenderness in their treatment of her.

Jean Pinchon who rose next could not bring himself to utter the final fiendish words. Joan was relapsed. As to the next procedure, he referred to the masters of theology. His vote was none the less for the fire.

The next eight who voted merely recorded themselves as being in agreement with the abbé de Fécamp, thus also avoiding the final words.

Then two voted to abandon Joan to the secular arm of justice, "and without prayer."

Among the next group to follow the abbé of Fécamp,

"*souvent nommé*" was Jean Lefèvre, who had tried to be of service to Joan during one long hard day, and who later, at the Revision, would declare that he believed the Maid to have been inspired.

Guillaume du Désert added his vote for the fire, though twenty-five years later he would declare that only because Joan had fought and conquered the English had she been thus treated.

Then came Pierre Maurice, whose heart lay heavy within him. Joan was relapsed. His vote was with that of the abbé de Fécamp.

Nicolas Loiseleur, the spy ; death by fire.

Doctors Jean Tiphaine and Guillaume Delachambre who had attended Joan in illness, and later would testify of her goodness and virtue, of the malignity of her enemies, both voted for the fire. Of this Delachambre testified :

"It was said to me if I did not sign like the others, evil would come to me in Rouen. It was thus I was led to give my signature."

Thus it was these men voted ; one after another they rose and registered each his decree for Joan's delivery to the secular arm. Pigache and de Grouchet, who once had made a timid attempt to save her, voted now like the rest, though de Grouchet would live to declare that the sentence was unjust.

Thomas de Courcelles, whose memory at the Revision had grown very poor, for he failed to remember that he had been one of the three to vote for Joan's torture — in fact, swore positively that he had not done so — forgot even that he had ever said that Joan

was a heretic, nevertheless voted for the fire. Even Brother Martin Ladvenu and Brother Isambard de La Pierre, who with others there would have saved her if they could, voted for her death, death by fire, "after preachment for the salvation of her soul, she having nothing further to hope for in the life of this world."

The report of the meeting says that Cauchon now thanked the assessors and spoke of the next step to be taken. Ten days earlier most of these men had delivered judgment against Joan, with at least a semblance of technical justice. By the tenets of that day, blasphemous and heretic she certainly had been. But since then she had at any rate gone through the form of abjuration, and had been admitted to penitence, with the absolute right of confinement in the Church prisons. Of her dastardly betrayal they knew — there had been no concealment of it. Many among them hated her and voted eagerly for her death. But some there were, more perhaps than we know, who acted through fear alone, and with sick and shrivelling hearts.

## XXVI

### DELIVERED

OF Joan's final day in prison there is no record. What happened on that twenty-ninth of May while her judges and the assessors were voting away her life will never be known. She must have known that her end was very near; did the ruffians about her let her pray in peace?

She was only nineteen. Did there come to her some memory of the years not so long ago when in a far-off, quiet valley she had at this season followed with her brothers behind the sheep, or danced and sung under the Fairy Tree, or sought alone the little chapel of Our Lady of Bermont?

Her brothers — where were they? Her parents, too, and all the rest? Her playmates; her uncle who had set out with her for Vaucouleurs, long, how long, ago; her comrades — d'Aulon; Dunois; Alençon, her *beau duc*; Queen Marie, and Yolande; the King! Where were they all? She was alone — utterly alone — among those who meant to destroy her, body and soul. The promised delivery — delivery with great victory — why did it not come? Where was La Hire? and Saintrilles? and de Boussac? Her Voices, that had led her through the years, — would they fail her now?

We can never know what things came to Joan on that day when her hours were rushing swiftly to their end. But of the day that followed — her last upon earth — there is much testimony.

From one who saw her in the early morning we learn that to Brother Martin Ladvenu was assigned the grievous duty of announcing to Joan that she was that day to die by fire. Jean Toutmouillé, being there present, says :

“When he imparted to the poor girl the decision of the judges, and she heard of the hard and cruel death that had been reserved for her, she exclaimed most piteously :

“‘Alas, that one should treat me so cruelly as to require that my body complete and entire, which was never corrupted, must today be consumed and turned to ashes. Rather would I be beheaded seven times than thus to be burned ! Had I been in the ecclesiastical prison, as I should have been, guarded by the people of the Church and not by my enemies, this misfortune would not have come to me. Oh, I appeal before God, the Great Judge, as to the wrongs and injuries done to me !’ And she complained marvellously of the oppressions and violences that had been visited upon her.

“After these sorrowings there appeared the Bishop of Beauvais, to whom she said immediately :

“‘Bishop, I die through you !’

“He began to address her some remonstrance, saying :

“‘Ah, Joan, take all in patience. You die because you have not held by what you promised us, but returned to your first wickedness.’

“And the poor Maid replied to him :

“‘Alas, if you had placed me in the Church prisons, and in the hands of their guardians, competent and suitable, that would not have happened. This is why I summon you for it before God !’”<sup>1</sup>



Pierre Maurice came, and she said to him :

"Master Pierre, where shall I be tonight?"

"Have you not good hope in the Lord, Joan?"

"Yes," she answered, "and God aiding I will be in paradise."

She now asked that she might receive communion. Massieu, who was in charge of her, was sent by Ladvenu for Cauchon's permission. The bishop consulted with some of the assistants. Could one give communion to a person declared excommunicated and a heretic? This, says Manchon, was deliberated among the judges and counsellors. It was decided that there were grounds on which to give, at her request, the sacrament of the Eucharist, and to absolve her at the tribunal of penitence. To Massieu, waiting, the bishop said :

"You will say to Brother Martin to give her communion, and whatever else she may ask."

"I came back to the château," says Massieu, "and told Brother Martin. A certain clerk, Pierre, brought to Joan the body of Our Lord, but very irreverently on a small plate enveloped with the linen with which one covers the communion cup, without light, without procession, without surplice, and without stole. This displeased Brother Martin. He sent back for a stole and for lights, after which he administered to Joan. Myself present, she received the body of Our Lord very devoutly, weeping abundant tears."

"I saw carried to Joan the body of Christ very solemnly," says another. "Litanies were chanted, voices cried 'pray for her!' and there was a multitude of candles."

It was near nine o'clock when Joan, accompanied by Massieu and Brother Martin Ladvenu, leaving the prison, entered the executioner's cart. The Maid was clad in white—the long garment for which she had once asked, “if brought to judgment—” on her head the paper mitre of the condemned. Surrounded by soldiers they set out for the Old Market, an open square, already thronged with waiting people.

Joan of Arc began to pray — prayers, we are told, “so beautiful and devout” that those hearing them were moved to tears. The priests with her, Massieu and Ladvenu, wept unrestrainedly. There is a story that the wretched Loiseleur, struck with remorse, tried to mount beside Joan, to cry her pardon. Assailed by the angry soldiers, but for Warwick he might have been killed.

By narrow streets the sorrowful procession reached the open market-place, the soldiers pushing a way through the throng. Near a corner of the butcher's hall and just across from the church of St. Saviour — surely a fitting location — three temporary structures had been erected: two platforms, one each for the judges and prelates, the third a high base of plaster, surmounted by a grim post to which was attached chains — the stake. Around and about were heaped faggots; at its top was nailed a placard bearing such words as *Heretic, Relapsed, Blasphemer, Idolatress*, redundant and meaningless calumny.

The Maid being now led to the platform on which sat the judges, the chosen preacher, Nicolas Midi, immediately began his sermon, taking from First Corin-

thians the text: "And if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it."

Joan, Manchon says, heard the long sermon patiently to the end. "She then began her prayers and lamentations, so notably and devoutly, and of such sort that the judges and prelates and all the other assistants were moved to great weeping." Of the priests present she asked that each say mass for her. "Uttering the most beautiful prayers, she recommended her soul to God, to the Holy Virgin, and to all the saints, invoking them and asking pardon for her judges and the English, and for the King of France and all the princes of the kingdom."

Winchester, Cardinal of England, wept and even Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais. Pierre Maurice, who had wished to be kind to the Maid, was overcome with grief.

"Never," says Manchon, "have I wept so much for anything that happened to me. For a month afterwards I could not calm myself. That is why, with the money I received in remuneration for my work, I bought a little missal, that I still keep, as a souvenir of Joan, that I may use it when I pray for her."

It was now about eleven o'clock, and Massieu says that the soldiers and captains, becoming impatient at the delay, called out to him:

"How, priest, are you going to make us dine here?"

Joan's prayers finished, Cauchon read the Church sentence, which once more, and for the last time, repeated all the harsh, abusive terms, and with the ghastly request that she be dealt with mercifully, abandoned her to the civil judge, whose faculties may

have been beyond his control, for he did no more than wave her to the executioner, with the words :

“Do your duty.”

And again was heard to say :

“Go on, go on ! ”

Thus upon no other sentence than that pronounced by the Church, which was not a sentence of death, but a mock recommendation to mercy, Joan was seized by two soldiers, and “with great fury” hurried to the stake. At this point most of the churchmen withdrew, unable to support the spectacle.

Joan from the scaffold swept with her gaze the thronging square and windows and roofs of the city of her captivity.

“Rouen ! Rouen ! Must I die here ? ” she cried, and another thought she said : “Ah, Rouen, I fear you will greatly suffer for my death ! ”

“I was still with her,” says Massieu, “and she asked with much devotion for a cross. An Englishman made a small one from the end of a stick, and gave it to her. Joan received it reverently and kissed it with tenderness, making prayers to Our Lord who had suffered on the cross for redemption, of which this was the sign and the representation. She placed it in her breast, between the flesh and her garment. She then asked me humbly to have the cross brought from the Church, in order that she might be able to see it continually until her death.”

Brothers Isambard and Ladvenu had been assigned by Cauchon to attend the Maid to the end. It was Isambard who brought the cross, mounting the scaffold



FRANCE'S HOLY GROUND





*Above: "SLUMBER OF THE MAID". By Joy*  
*Below: HOUSE AND STATUE OF JACQUES COEUR, BOURGES*



with it, for she was now chained to the stake. But then the fire was lighted, and as the flames crept up she begged him to descend, holding it always before her.

"I am neither heretic nor schismatic!" she cried, "as their writings charge," meaning on the placard above her, and on the mitre cap they had set on her head.

The scaffold being high, the flames did not reach her easily; later that day the executioner spoke of hers as a cruel death. Once, we are told, she asked for holy water. But then, as in the past, she called only on beings of light, and heeded the world no more. As the flames rose about her she is thought to have cried her faith in her Voices, for Ladvenu, who with Isambard was nearest her, says:

"Until her last hour, as ever, Joan affirmed that her Voices were of God. That all she had done she had done by the order of God. That she did not believe she had been deceived by her Voices — that her revelations were of God."

And many there later bore witness that in the midst of the flames she cried out the name of Jesus: no less than six times the name of Jesus; and that in surrendering her spirit she pronounced again the name of Jesus.

With which pathetic cry upon her lips, the name of one whose struggle and defeat and victory had been even as her own, the girl who in her father's garden had seen a light and heard a Voice, passed from that strange dream which we call life to that still stranger dream which has been called immortality.

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The executioner abated the flames to let the people see that she was dead, then heaped on fresh fuel. The spectators melted away; the soldiers went to their belated dinner; the fire died down. That which had been Joan of Arc, she who in silver armour had conquered at Orleans and led the King to Reims, had become no more than a heap of charred cinders, which the executioner carried to the Seine, in order that no relic of her might be preserved.

PART TEN  
AFTERWARDS



## I

### CAUCHON'S SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT. REMORSE, AND RUMOURS OF MARVELS

**I**F Cauchon had believed that to burn Joan as a relapsed penitent would justify him with the people of Rouen, he was quickly undeceived. Whatever they may have known of the truth of the Maid's "return to sin," and they probably knew it very fully, they had noted the manner of her death, and freely spoke of it as martyrdom. Notary Boisguillaume, a dweller in Rouen, declares that after Joan was burned the authors of her death "were pointed out with horror."

The bishop realized that he must do something to combat this, something that would establish the justice of his act. On June 7, eight days after her execution, he prepared a document, which purported to be the depositions of no less than seven of the assessors, that Joan in the early morning of her day of death, of her own will, had stated that her Voices had deceived her; that while she had in fact been visited by supposed saints and seen multitudes of angels, the latter of very minute proportions, she now believed, accordingly as the men of the Church had told her, that all these things were the work of evil spirits, to whom she would give no more faith. As for the angel who had brought the crown as a sign to the King, she admitted, they said, that there had been no such angel; that she herself had been this angel, promising Charles to crown him at Reims if he put her in the field.

Of these seven assessors<sup>1</sup> one was Nicolas Loiseleur, whose deposition is longer than the others, with added details. Loiseleur deposed that on the morning of the execution he had exhorted Joan to correct the errors she had sown among the people, by making public avowal from the scaffold and humbly asking their pardon. To which Joan had replied that she would do this willingly, "but could not hope to remember it when she should stand in judgment, and *asked him to remind her of it.*"<sup>2</sup> It seemed to him, he said, that Joan was of sound mind, showing great penitence for her crimes.

In the matter of the "Seventy Articles" and the counterfeit abjuration the reader has seen what Cauchon, "with the aid of God and for the exaltation of the faith," could do in the way of invention.

The supplementary report of June 7 is on a par with these. That the hounded, spent, distracted girl in the anguish of that fatal morning may have let fall something that could be distorted into the denial ascribed to her is not impossible. Even the Man on the Cross is reputed to have uttered momentary doubt.

What the assessors themselves thought of the supplementary report is shown by the fact that of the seven who are supposed to have made the depositions, not one of them signed them, not even Loiseleur, who undoubtedly helped to prepare them.

That Cauchon cowed the others into allowing the use of their names is supposable, but they seem to have balked at signing, and Loiseleur alone could hardly do so without rendering the whole document suspect.



Of these seven assessors, three — Ladvenu, de Courcelles, and Toutmouillé — lived to testify at the Revision. In no way did any one of them refer to the supplementary report, but Ladvenu significantly closed his deposition with these words, already once quoted :

“Until her last hour, *as ever*, Joan affirmed that her Voices were *of God*. That all she had done she had done by the order *of God*. That she did not believe that she had been deceived by her Voices — that her revelations were *of God*.”<sup>1</sup>

Of the supplementary report, one witness did testify at the Revision. Notary Guillaume Manchon said :

“I did not attend a certain examination of those who had spoken with Joan apart, as private persons. Nevertheless my lord of Beauvais *wished me to sign the report of it. This I refused to do.*”

Nor was it signed by either of the other notaries. The notaries knew Cauchon and were not greatly afraid of him. The report may, or may not, have deceived the public. A poor, patent fraud, it seems strange that it should have deceived anybody. Yet it has troubled churchmen and historians for five hundred years.

Remorse apparently manifested itself early among certain of Joan's enemies. A witness at the Revision, Pierre Cusquel, testified :

“I particularly heard some expressive words from Master Jean Tressard, secretary of the King of England. I saw him sad and miserable and groaning. He lamented what had taken place, and deplored the spectacle of which he had been a witness.

“‘We are all lost,’ he said, ‘for it is a good and holy woman that has been burned. I believe her soul is in the hands of God, and I believe damned all who joined in her condemnation.’”

A churchmen, Jean Alepée, is reported to have said :

“Would God my soul were where I believe the soul of that woman to be !”

Isambard says that on the afternoon following the execution there came to him a terrified English soldier.

“He had sworn that with his own hand he would put a faggot on Joan’s funeral pyre. He did so, but at the same instant — being that in which Joan expired — he heard her cry the name of Jesus. He remained struck as by lightning. His comrades led him to a tavern near the Old Market, to give him strength by making him drink. In the afternoon this Englishman confessed in my presence to a Dominican friar — a compatriot who repeated to me his words — that he had gravely sinned ; that he much repented his manifestation against Joan, whom he now regarded as a good and brave woman ; for at the moment when she had given up her spirit on the scaffold, it had seemed to him that there appeared a white dove, which flew toward France.

“The same day in the afternoon, soon after the execution, the executioner came to the convent of the Dominican friars, to find Brother Ladvenu and myself. He had been struck and moved by Joan’s marvellous repentance and contrition. In his despair he feared he would never obtain indulgence and pardon from God for what he had done.

“‘I fear that I shall be damned,’ he said to us, ‘for I have burned a holy woman.’”

Many marvels were repeated and wild rumours circulated after Joan's death. This same executioner declared that resisting every effort to consume it, Joan's heart had remained intact and filled with blood. Others reported having seen the word JESUS written in the flames. It was also said, regardless of the testimony of witnesses, that Joan's ashes, instead of being thrown into the Seine, had been scattered to the winds. In time a report was started that the Maid had not been burned at all, but another in her place. Curiously enough, five years later, there appeared a woman of similar features who actually claimed to be Joan of Arc, for a time deceiving many, including certain officials and even one of Joan's brothers. Exposed, by the King himself, it is said, she confessed the deception.

## II

### THE MISSION FULFILLED

JOAN's body they had burned, but her spirit went marching on. According to an old chronicler, Matthieu Thomassin, she had once declared that dead she would be more fatal to the English than living. She had been asked, he says, if she would endure but briefly, as she had prophesied, and if the English had power to kill her.

"She replied that all things were in accordance with the will of God, and also declared that if it were suitable for her to die before the thing for which God had sent her was accomplished, that after her death she would be of more injury to the English than she had been in life; and that notwithstanding her death, all for which she had come would be accomplished."

Joan may very well have said something of the sort. It goes no farther than her prophecies officially recorded in the process, and would no less certainly be fulfilled.

France, stupefied by the crime at Rouen and the King's indifference, remained for a time inert, a prey to private wars and anarchy, again terrorized by armed bands recruited from both armies. Yet in some fashion the war, the seemingly interminable war, went on. There were French reverses: Saintrilles was captured, La Hire lost Louviers. No matter, the captains were still fighting. Joan had united them as nothing else had ever done and the national spirit grew. Memories of Orleans, of Jargeau and Patay,

still gave them courage and still troubled the English. Joan was dead, but it would never again be true that two hundred of the English were equal to a thousand of the French. A French soldier had become at least as good as an English soldier — better, for he was on his own ground, while the ill-conditioned, discouraged enemy had long been weary for England.

Then something important happened. Two years earlier, following Patay, Joan had reconciled the King to the great Constable, Arthur Richemont of Brittany. Little immediate result followed, since La Trémouille still had Charles's ear. Futile years passed, during which the adherents of these two were engaged in what was nothing less than a war of their own. Then, one dark night in 1433, Richemont concluded matters in his own peculiar fashion.

La Trémouille was then at Chinon, lodged in the very tower of Coudray which Joan had once occupied. Charles's immediate relatives had long wished to dispose of this evil genius, especially Queen Yolande, who may have known how a door in the lower walls came to be left open, through which crept fifty of Richemont's men, commanded by three knights, one of them a relative of La Trémouille himself.

La Trémouille, an exceedingly fat person, waking when a light flashed in his face, made a futile grab for a dagger at the head of his bed, and was promptly stabbed in the paunch by one of the leaders. The victim's great bulk saved his life; the glancing blade penetrated only the gross tissue and did not find a vital part. A second thrust was prevented by his relative.

"He is my uncle," he said, "and as rich as he is fat. I will hold him for ransom."

La Trémouille was trussed, and carried to his nephew's castle, Montrésor. Charles, next morning advised of what had taken place, was at first annoyed, but presently, calmed by the queen, reconciled himself to the elimination of his chief creditor, replacing him with the Queen's brother, Charles of Anjou, Count of Maine.<sup>1</sup>

Richemont, rid of his wily enemy at court and in the field, was now free to lead in operations against the invaders. Charles, likewise delivered from the fat shadow of evil counsel, bestirred himself to a semblance of kinghood, if not of manhood. The national spirit everywhere grew; British power and influence weakened; Philip, Duke of Burgundy, surnamed "the good," saw the handwriting on the wall and became lukewarm in his feelings for the English.

Richemont and Bedford had married sisters of Burgundy, but Bedford's wife was dead and his second marriage did not please Philip the Good. Then in 1435 Bedford himself died, and Philip, forgiving his father's murder at Montereau, concluded with Charles VII the Treaty of Arras, which wrote the doom of England in France. The Constable Richemont entered Paris the following April, and something more than a year later, when he felt that it was quite safe to do so, Charles VII made a formal entry into his capital. This was in November 1437, well within the seven years of Joan's prophecy.<sup>2</sup> But for La Trémouille and Regnault de Chartres, and his own paltry nature that



prophecy would not have been uttered ; he would have entered Paris in 1429, immediately after Reims, with Joan at his side. One wonders if by any chance he remembered her in his hour of triumph. Possibly, for Nicolas Midi, one of Cauchon's most zealous supporters — the same Midi who had preached to Joan in the hour of her death, naming both her and her King as heretics, and worse — now preached Charles's sermon of welcome to Paris !<sup>1</sup>

One of the Maid's predictions still remained to be fulfilled — the English were to go ! Jacques Cœur of Bourges financed Charles's armies and Joan's spirit and prophecy went marching on. The way was long but sure. France united, the France for which she had died, led by Richemont and Dunois, would never rest now until she had cleared the invaders from her soil. Even Charles was roused to action, and before Pontoise is said to have commanded the troops in person.

By a lonely roadside, far on the way to Cherbourg, is a small stone column which marks the site of the Battle of Formigny, where on April 15, 1450, the English made their last stand in Normandy. Three years later they lost Guienne, English since the twelfth century. A single seaport, Calais, still remained to them, and that by sufferance. Joan had marched, and France was free.

### III

#### THE REHABILITATION

**M**EANTIME another matter had commanded attention. The *beau procès*, closed during more than twenty years, had been reopened, new evidence had been taken, the Maid's name was to be cleared of blemish.

Early in 1450, when Rouen surrendered, foreshadowing the Battle of Formigny, and he had been in possession of his capital thirteen years, Charles's conscience awoke, not to remorse but to the realization that as King of the foremost nation of Europe he should purge his title of the taint of witchcraft. His ordinance, published February 15 of that year, declared that "the enemies of Joan, having caused her to die, against right and very cruelly," he wished to have the truth of this affair, and charged one of his counsellors to proceed with an inquiry. This presents a fair appearance, but from a letter written by the Archbishop of Reims to Jean d'Aulon, Joan's old comrade, we get a glimpse of the motive. To d'Aulon the archbishop wrote :

"By the process conducted against Joan, the English maintain that the Maid was a witch, heretic, and invoker of devils, and that the King recovered his kingdom by such means ; and thus they hold the King and those who have served him to be heretics. And for the reason that of the life and habits of Joan you are well and widely informed, I beg of you to put in writing [make deposition] what you know of it." <sup>1</sup>

A similar letter must have gone to many of Joan's

old comrades. No mention is made of a desire to establish the truth for the sake of Joan's memory. The claim for revision of the sentence, however, was made in the name of her mother and two brothers, "anxious that her memory be cleared of unmerited disgrace." Isabelle Romée in fact appeared at Notre Dame, Paris, to plead for her daughter's rehabilitation. Jacques d'Arc was no longer living, having died, it is said, of grief on hearing of his daughter's martyrdom.

The new process opened in 1450, and seven witnesses, priests, were examined that year. Twenty or more, men and women in every walk of life, were examined in 1452, and a large number in 1456. The sittings took place at Paris, Orleans, Rouen, and at Domremy. Many were still alive who had known Joan, and all, with the possible exception of certain priests, eager to testify. Those who had played with her, those who had marched with her, those who had sent her to her doom, those who had ministered to her last sorrowful needs, told each his memories.

All three of the notaries happily lived to testify. Of the assessors twenty or more answered to the summons. Of these, some, like Thomas de Courcelles, belied themselves, denying any active part in Joan's conviction. Others, like Isambard, Ladvenu, and de Grouchet, confessed their cowardice and their shame.

In the archbishop's palace at Rouen, where twenty-five years before Joan had been declared sorceress, idolatress, heretic and relapsed, on the seventh of July, 1456, in the presence of her brother Jean d'Arc and the assembled judges, a sentence was pronounced

which bitterly censured Joan's former judges, annulled their verdict as iniquitous calumny, and declared the Maid to have been without sin, body and soul. It ordered that this sentence, preceded by sermons and solemn processions, be promulgated in two places: at St. Ouen, where Joan had been forced into abjuration, and at the Old Market, where she had paid the price of devotion to King and country, the ceremonies at the Old Market to include the planting of an expiatory cross.

## IV

### THEIR SUBSEQUENT STORY

**P**IERRE CAUCHON, Bishop of Beauvais, did not testify at the Revision, neither was he represented there. He had been dead a good many years, and his relatives and heirs, when summoned, repudiated his memory.

Another who did not attend the Revision was Jean d'Estivet, prosecutor and spy, who had called Joan vile names. To call Joan names seems to have been particularly fatal, as witness the doom of Glasdale at the Tourelles. D'Estivet, in his turn, was drowned, or murdered. At all events, his body was found in a filthy slough, at the gates of Rouen.

Nicolas Midi was still alive at the time of the Revision, but could not be summoned. He had already developed leprosy, and he managed to drag out twenty-two loathsome years before it killed him. Historians have sometimes cited these cases as examples of divine retribution; but on the other hand nothing unusual seems to have happened to Guillaume Érard, who denounced the Maid at St. Ouen, or to Thomas de Courcelles, one of Cauchon's chief supports, who voted not only for the Maid's conviction, but for her torture. De Courcelles lived many years, highly regarded by churchmen and laity as an example of learning, modesty, and piety. He was selected to preach the Gallican doctrine to Charles VII and finally to deliver his funeral oration. But then de Courcelles had been a

most exemplary young man, and never by any chance could have called anybody an evil name.

Cauchon never became Archbishop of Rouen. For whatever reason, he was sent as bishop to the much smaller city of Lisieux, which offered but poor substitute for the glories of Rouen, or even for his former bishopric of Beauvais. He may now have remembered Joan's warnings, for he added to his church a beautiful propitiatory chapel to the Virgin, in expiation, it is said, for his offence against the Maid. If so, it did not avail him. Sudden death, from which he had so often prayed to be delivered, came to him while being shaved, and though entombed with honours he was later excommunicated — not because of Joan, but for having defaulted in moneys due to Rome — his body was exhumed and thrown in the common sewer.

Nicolas Loiseleur, the spy, was likewise dead when the revision of Joan's process began. Following the Maid's death he was deputed to the Council of Bale, but did not attend. He went to England, where he was badly received. By decree of the court of Rome he was deprived of his office as canon of the church of Rouen. Two years later, at the comparatively early age of fifty-two, he died.

Of the later fortunes of Joan's family and certain of her comrades-at-arms a brief word may be of interest. Isabelle Romée was pensioned by the city of Orleans, and died there in 1458, two years following the verdict that restored her daughter to the favour of the Church. She was very religious, and the patent of nobility which Charles had conferred made her a lady of rank. Alto-



gether, she must have been held in high esteem, and greatly honoured.

Joan's brothers assumed, with their title, the name of du Lys and lived as gentlemen. Jean du Lys in time succeeded Baudricourt as Captain of Vaucouleurs, a distinction beyond his wildest boyhood dreams. Pierre du Lys remained in Orleans. He received a pension from that city and from its poet-duke, Charles, who after twenty-five years of captivity in England returned at last to his dominions. Both these brothers left posterity, and though the lines of ancestry are none too definitely traced, have living descendants.

Whether Durand Laxart assumed the airs of nobility under the King's patent, we do not know. He seems to have testified at the Revision as a "labourer," so it is to be assumed that he did not. He probably died as he had lived, a loyal and upright peasant of Burey, leaving France in his eternal debt.

Of Joan's comrades-at-arms, Dunois led in many battles — at Chartres, at Paris, at Formigny, and in Guienne. In later life he became a diplomat and was entrusted with the highest missions.

Alençon, Joan's *beau duc*, so long fine and faithful, in old age lost hold on his ideals. A secret correspondence with the English was discovered and he was condemned to death. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He was for a time confined in a tower of the Louvre.

La Hire, wild, heroic, always half mythical, went fighting down the years and somewhere vanished in the mists of battle.

Louis de Contes, graceful, happy page, turned into a prosperous squire, lord of Novyon and of Reugles. Very likely in old age he became about as Mark Twain pictured him, and recounted over and over the tales of his glory, when he rode with Joan at Orleans and Patay, and followed her to Reims.

Honest and brave Jean d'Aulon, head of the Maid's military household, with her until her last day in the field, and after, in later life was made seneschal of Beaucaire, and of a certainty recounted much history.

One of Joan's captains, Gilles de Rais, was apprehended for terrible crimes, and though the evidence against him was entirely hearsay it was sufficient in that day to send him to the scaffold, and earned for him the title of "Bluebeard."

Of Charles VII, Joan's king, for whom she gave her life and almost with her last breath defended against calumny, what shall we say? There really seems very little to be said for Charles. Gratitude, compassion, consideration — of such words he did not even know the meaning. He allowed Joan to go to the stake without so much as lifting a hand to prevent it. Not one of her persecutors was ever punished; indeed several of them were accorded high honours, as witness the case of Nicolas Midi and of Thomas de Courcelles. His order for the revision of her trial was, as we have seen, issued entirely on his own account. Jacques Cœur of Bourges, who had done for him in finance what Joan had done in arms, he permitted to be ruined by as base a conspiracy as ever blackened the page of history.<sup>1</sup> By unnatural treatment he warped the childhood of

his only son, later to become the furtive and cruel Louis XI, whom Charles so dreaded at last that he is said to have died from starvation, fearing poison at Louis' hands.

In his closing days, Charles is reported to have remembered Joan and expressed regret for her cruel death, but this is no more than hearsay, probably inspired by pity for a dying King. There is, however, one defence for Charles — a valid one: he did not create his temperament. And this much can be said for each of the others, and for all of us.

## V

### THE GLORY OF THE LILIES

JOAN still goes marching on — more alive today than during all the years that have passed since that bitter day at Rouen when under the May sky she was “delivered with great victory.” Following her death came a period when her history was almost lost in fable, and the Maid though never forgotten became a kind of legendary figure, her deeds relegated to a realm where myth and fact became indistinguishable. Then came the tireless, the painstaking, the conscientious Jules Quicherat, who gathered the amazing collection of documents that reincarnated the Maid of France as a human being, clearly defined in the hearts and histories of mankind. Quicherat of all men has done most for Joan’s memory. He did not himself write her story; he only collected the material for others and clarified it for their use.

Joan’s enemies have also marched — she has never been without them. An element in the Church long opposed her canonization. Military critics now and again have disparaged her warfare. Certain men of letters, even among those of her own land, have sought to cheapen her mission and her achievements.

Attacks on the Maid have been but the milestones of her progress. Canonized after five hundred years,<sup>1</sup> her statue is revered in the public places and the churches of France, in her face the glory of the lilies. Her day in

May is celebrated in every corner of the nation ; streets, squares, and shops are named for her ; in all France Jeanne d'Arc is the name oftenest seen and heard.

Joan has been made a saint, but she is more than that : she is the ultimate expression of loyalty and patriotism. The French love God, the Saviour, and the Virgin Mary with reverential devotion. Their love for Joan is quite a different matter. Joan is a saint, but she is human, one of their own. They feel what she felt ; her cruel death is more than an allegory, it is a reality ; her suffering is as poignant, her purpose as clear as it was the day of her martyrdom. Individually and as a nation, in any crucial hour, the French, consciously or unconsciously, ask themselves what Joan would have done, for Joan is *France* !

Not alone in France is Joan marching. England, her old enemy, has set up statues of her. America has done the same, and with love and reverence holds her in its heart. It happens that we honor our soldier dead on the day of her martyrdom, and this seems fitting, since it was France, her France, that helped us win our freedom, and since for our later dead we wear the wild poppy bloom because for France they died.

Five hundred years have passed, and Joan remains a living, breathing presence, when those others of her day have become little more than names, a museum of labelled shadows. Stepping down the centuries, she leads us on. Symbol of a super-faith and high-hearted valour with righteous resort to arms, in Joan of Arc, if anywhere today, lies the hope of the world.

## VI

### WHERE THE FOOTPRINTS END

ROUEN suffered for Joan's death. It was a reproach and a humiliation which she tried to forget. Her churches set up no memorials; the cross erected in the Old Market disappeared. Could she have done so, Rouen would have banished the entire chapter from her history.

Then there came a change: shame gave place to uplifting sorrow and adoration. When Joan had been dead a hundred years, a memorial fountain was erected in her honour, not in the Old Market, but in the *Marché-aux-Veaux*, today *Place de la Pucelle*. Something more than two centuries later this again was replaced by a pretentious, but unworthy, monument of the Maid, as *Bellona*, goddess of war, and this still stands.

The churches of Rouen, whose prelates were so numerous concerned in her condemnation, were slower to manifest contrition, tardy to recognize her goodness and her glory, and have not fully done so to this day. It is only in comparatively recent years that there has been any memento of Joan in the cathedral, while in the great church of *St. Ouen*, by the side of which occurred the farce of her abjuration, there is still no altar, no statue, no mention of her of any sort. The spot where the scaffolds stood is marked by a tablet which tells the visitor that here Joan of Arc suffered the "odious ordeal called the Abjuration"; but this was placed there by the city, not by the church.



Rouen the city, modern and prosperous, has done its best to atone. A boulevard and the widest, finest street in the city bear her name. One sees it everywhere on the shop signs ; her pictures are in many windows. Rouen's chief glory, today, even if still her chief sorrow, lies in the fact that she was chosen as the city of Joan's martyrdom.

Aside from the exteriors of the cathedral and St. Ouen, there cannot be much in modern Rouen that Joan consciously saw. Both these churches have been considerably altered ; the vast abbey once connected with St. Ouen is gone ; the cemetery, near the entrance of which the scaffolds stood, has become a park.

A portion of the archbishop's palace is of Joan's time, and on one façade of it, abutting the street, are two tablets, side by side. On one of them :

IN THIS ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE  
ON TUESDAY THE 29TH OF MAY, 1431,  
WAS HELD THE SITTING OF THE PROCESS  
OF  
JOAN OF ARC  
AT WHICH SHE WAS CITED TO APPEAR NEXT MORNING  
AT THE OLD MARKET.

And on the other :

IN THIS ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE  
ON WEDNESDAY THE 7TH OF JULY, 1456,  
THE CARDINAL D'ESTOUTEVILLE BEING ARCHBISHOP  
OF ROUEN  
WAS DELIVERED THE SENTENCE OF THE REHABILITATION  
OF  
JOAN OF ARC.

Joan's prison vanished long ago. Of the vast pile which was the castle of Philip Augustus nothing remains but the great tower, much restored, in which the Maid withstood the threat of torture. This is now a sort of museum, and has many visitors. Some of the interior is probably about as it was when Joan defied there the thumbscrew and the rack. The guardian of the tower is, or was, a soldier who suffered terrible wounds in the World War, and on a day when the writer happened to be present a committee came and bestowed on this hero the cross of the Legion of Honour. The ceremony was simple and touching, and one felt that the Maid might not be far away. On a near-by street a tablet marks the supposed site of Joan's tower, but the identification is not very convincing. A commercial building stands there today, and it does not seem in the right direction to have been "near the fields."

The street plan of Rouen has been considerably modified with the passing centuries, and one cannot with certainty follow the way of sorrow which led from the Maid's prison to the scaffold in the market-place. A portion of it has been obliterated by the fine thoroughfare which today bears her name. Leaving that, the streets are less changed and in places are overhung by tottering Norman houses, from whose narrow windows their dwellers once looked down on the saviour of France jolting by in a tumbrel cart.

Following the Street of the Good Children, so called then and now, we come to the Street of the Prison, which leads directly to the Old Market, still a market, bigger and busier than in that ancient day. The

church of St. Saviour is gone, but a butcher's hall stands about on the old site, and at its corner a tablet set in the pavement bears the words :

JEANNE D'ARC

30 Mai

1431

Above it, on the corner of the market building, another tablet tells more fully the story, and about it hang floral offerings and immortelles. This is France's holy ground ; it seems fitting that it should be thus simply designated. On all sides, the people hurry to and fro on their busy errands. The visitor, trying to reconstruct the scene of that fearful, far-away morning, at best realizes but a faint semblance of the reality. Less true it seems among this modern, eager throng than elsewhere ; and presently leaving it he follows down the Street of the Old Palace, to stand a little by the fortunate river that bore the sacred ashes to the sea.

THE END



## APPENDIX

### NOTES, VOL. II

#### Page 4

Jacques le Bouvier, known as "Le Herault Berri"; Quich., Vol. IV, page 48.

Also repeated by the Journal of the Siege; Quich., Vol. IV, page 201. The translation given combines the two versions.

#### Page 9

<sup>1</sup> . . . respondit qu'elles n'estoit pas seule, et que encores avoit-elle en sa compaignie cinquante mille de ses gens, et que d'ilec ne se partiroit jusques à ce qu'elle eust prinse ladicte ville. Quich., Vol. III, page 218.

#### Page 10

<sup>1</sup> From another clause of d'Aulon's testimony it has been assumed that Joan never physically matured, he having been told, he says, by women having intimate knowledge of the Maid that never had they known or perceived in her any sign of woman's periodical infirmity.

(Dit encores plus qu'il a oy dire à plusieurs femmes, qui ladicte Pucelle ont veue par plusieurs foiz nue, et sceus de ses secretz, que oncques n'avoit eu la secrecte maladie des femmes et que jamais nul n'en put riens cognoistre ou appercevoir par ses habillemens, ne aultrement.)

Such gossip is not very impressive as evidence. Nevertheless, the Maid's supposed abnormality has been seized upon by certain speculative writers to account for her visions. The testimony and the conclusion are about equally convincing.

## Page 12

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda of divers provisions of war furnished by the city of Clermont Ferrand at the request of the Maid November 7, 1429. Quich., Vol. V, page 146.

## Page 14

<sup>1</sup> Contribution of the city of Bourges, for the siege of La Charité, November 24, 1429. Quich., Vol. V, page 356.

## Page 16

<sup>1</sup> The Bourgeois of Paris (Quich., Vol. IV, page 474) says that Brother Richard claimed to have administered communion three times to Joan on Christmas Day, etc., etc. This is untrustworthy authority, though in this case partly corroborated by Joan herself, who testified to having seen Catherine de la Rochelle in Jargeau, and gave the details of their meeting as narrated in the text (Examination of March 3, 1431).

The time of Joan's visit to Jargeau may well have been earlier than Christmas Day, for the siege of La Charité appears to have been not then abandoned. She spoke of it to Catherine, who advised her not to go there because of the cold. The La Charité episode is all rather indefinite, except as to its outcome.

## Page 20

<sup>1</sup> "Jeanne d'Arc à Tours," by Chanoine H. Boissonnot.

<sup>2</sup> Charles grant of nobility to Joan and her family had been drawn in December, 1429, but was not publicly recorded until January 16, 1430. Wallon; page 420, column 2.

<sup>3</sup> Accounts of the City of Orleans; Quich., Vol. V, page 270.



## Page 22

<sup>1</sup> This portion of the letter is really illegible. Quicherat's reading of it is: "et leur seil [contraction of *essil*, destruction or *essai*, attempt] y est si brief que ce sera bientost. "Count C. de Maleissye, owner of the original letter, gives it as follows: "et lever, c'il y est, si brief," etc., etc. The writer has seen several photographic facsimiles of the letter and by a considerable stretch of imagination could reconcile himself to either of these two readings. The translation, though liberal, sufficiently carries Joan's intent.

## Page 24

<sup>1</sup> The Chronicler Jean Rogier speaks of the "Sinister reports" which Charles had received from Reims, as to the fidelity of the inhabitants. Quich., Vol. IV, page 299.

## Page 25

<sup>1</sup> A letter of this time, of date March 23, purporting to come from Joan and signed by Pasquerel, was addressed to the Hussite heretics of Bohemia, who were harshly denounced and promised punishment, when the Maid is no longer occupied with the English. Written in Latin, and of clerical elegance, Joan could not have dictated, or understood, a word of it. She may have given Pasquerel permission to use her name, but she could have known only such as he chose to tell her of the result. The fact that Pasquerel did not have her sign it but attached his own signature would indicate that he did not force the matter upon her attention, and she would give it little thought otherwise. She was too much concerned with armies and traitors at home to give close consideration to heretics in Bohemia, however much the thought of them may have disturbed the zealous Pasquerel.

## Page 29

<sup>1</sup> De Cagny first puts down the year as 1429, an evident slip of the pen. In another place, in a brief unfinished note, he gives the year as 1430, and the month as April. He probably did not learn the day of departure.

## Page 34

<sup>1</sup> Joan's historians in general have her begin her campaign at Melun, perhaps for the reason that it lies nearer than Lagny to Sully, and because Monstrelet places the Lagny fight at the beginning of May. But Monstrelet is hardly more reliable than de Cagny, or than Jean Chartier, who agree on Lagny as the Maid's first objective. Furthermore, it is not reasonable to suppose that the Maid would go to Melun, an enemy town, with a handful of men, or that she would spend fifteen days or so on the road between Sully and Melun, a distance of sixty-five miles. She may of course have returned from Melun to Lagny and fought then the battle in which Franquet d'Arras was taken, which is not very important, the main historical point being that she *went to Melun with an army*, and not, in effect, single-handed, as some historians would have us believe.

## Page 36

<sup>1</sup> *L'histoire manuscrite de Beauvais, par M. Hermant*; Quich., Vol. V, page 165. Quicherat spells the name of the château Borenglise, but the pronunciation of the inhabitants leads to the spelling Berenglise. The beautiful building was damaged somewhat during the World War. The church in the village of Élincourt was almost destroyed. Both church and château in 1924 were being restored. It is really not very likely that Joan visited Élincourt and Berenglise, for the reason that the country north of Compiègne was then almost entirely in English and Burgundian hands.

**Page 37**

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of Jean Lefèvre of Abbeville; Quich., Vol. IV, page 437. The date is supplied by M. Champion.

**Page 40**

<sup>1</sup> It is de Cagny who reports her departure from Crépy, and her arrival at Compiègne. If, as is likely enough, he got his facts from d'Aulon, they may be regarded as authentic.

**Page 45**

<sup>1</sup> La Pucelle tirée bas de son cheval par ses longs habits, donna sa foy au bastard de Vendonne qui estoit de la compagnie et suite de messire Jean de Luxembourg. Memoire sur Guillaume de Flavy; Quich., Vol. V, page 177.

**Page 46**

<sup>1</sup> Baedeker states that it was in this tower that Joan was confined as a prisoner. Joan was never a prisoner anywhere *within* Compiègne. She was held only at Clairoux, two and a half miles up the river, on the other side.

**Page 51**

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of Enguerran de Monstrelet; Quich., Vol. IV, page 402.

**Page 53**

<sup>1</sup> Quich., Vol. IV, pages 272-73.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Regnault de Chartres to the inhabitants of Reims, quoted by Jean Rogier. Quich., Vol. V, pages 168-69.

**Page 54**

<sup>1</sup> Quich., Vol. IV, page 273; Vol. V, page 371.

## Page 57

<sup>1</sup>Michelet speaks of an attempt made by Saintrailles to capture Rouen, as if it had occurred during Joan's presence there. This really happened three months after her death. Saintrailles was captured and confined in the main tower of the castle of Rouen.

## Page 66

<sup>1</sup>The several letters from which these extracts and summaries have been made are contained in Volume I of the Quicherat collection; also in the *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, by M. Vallet de Viriville, and in the *Procès*, etc., by Pierre Champion, the last named, in Volume II, giving them in modernized French.

## Page 70

<sup>1</sup>There is an ancient tradition, or version, which says that she let herself from the window and fell, from which some writers have concluded that she may have knotted her bedding into a means of escape which failed to support her. Joan, however, says that she jumped (*saillit*, archaic form of *sautais*) and mentions her "*sault*," i.e. *saut*, jump. She makes nowhere any suggestion that she fell.

## Page 72

<sup>1</sup>Répartition d'un Dixième de l'Impot voté par les Etats de Normandie, pour l'Achat de la Pucelle et la Continuation de la Guerre. September 1430.

Extract: . . . dix mille livres tournois, au paiement de l'achapt de Jehanne la Pucelle que l'en dit estre sorcière, personne de guerre, conduisant les ostz du Daulphin. Quich., Vol. V, page 179.

**Page 74**

<sup>1</sup> Histoire Généalogique de Comtes de Pontieu et Maieurs d'Abbeville. Quich., Vol. V, pages 360-61.

**Page 77**

<sup>1</sup> Histoire Généalogique, etc.; Quich., Vol. V, page 361.

**Page 87**

<sup>1</sup> Testimony of Jean Moreau, at the Revision; Fabre, Vol. II, page 162.

<sup>2</sup> Many were timid, some of whom fled and would take no part in the action. Testimony at the Revision, of Canon Richard de Grouchet; Fabre, Vol. II, pages 112-13.

**Page 89**

<sup>1</sup> Fabre, Vol. II, page 78.

**Page 90**

<sup>1</sup> Testimony of Recorder Nicolas Taquel and others. Fabre, Vol. II.

**Page 91**

<sup>1</sup> Respondit quod non sciebat diem neque horam quibus debebat capi, nec quando illud contingeret. Original transcript.

Jeanne répondit: "Je ne savais ni le jour ni l'heure où je serais prise, ni quand cela arriverait." French version by Fabre, Vol. II, page 147.

**Page 93**

<sup>1</sup> *Journal, le Bourgeois de Paris*; Quich., Vol. IV, page 467.

<sup>2</sup> "A lyme of the Feende": Bedford's epithet is from the surviving fragment of a letter, already briefly quoted in

Page 93 (*Continued*)

Note to page 164. It bears no date, but supposably written to the young king, Henry VI, it must have been somewhat after the event. The text here follows in full :

“And all thing there prospered for you, till the tyme of the siege of Orleans taken in hand, God knoweth by what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen to the persone of my cousin of Salysbury, whom God assoile [absolve], there felle by the hand of God, as it seemeth, a grete strook upon your people that was assembled there in grete nombre, caused in grete partie, as y trowe, of lakke of sadde beleve, and of unleveful doubte that thei hadde of a diciple and lyme of the Feende, called the Pucelle, that used fals enchauntements and sorcerie. The which strooke and discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete partie the nombre of youre people, there, but as well withdrowe the courage of the remenant in merveillous wyse, and couraiged youre adverse partie and ennemys to assemble hem forthwith in grete nombre.” Quich., Vol. V, pages 136-7.

## Page 100

Quich., Vol. I, page 43; Champion, Vol. II, page 26; Vallet, *Procès*, pages 28-9.

## Page 104

<sup>1</sup>Three of Joan's godmothers testified at the Revision. Two of them were called Jeannette, or Joan, and the third Beatrix. A fourth is named as Edith. There is no trace of any Agnes, or Sybille, but names were of small consequence in that day and locality. Also Joan may have had more than four. The known names of her godfathers included four Jeans, among them the Jean Barrey and Jean Lingué (or Langart) named.



## Page 105

<sup>1</sup>In the original: "Verum est quod alias volui et vellem, prout licitum est cuicumque incarcerato seu prisionario, evadere." Quich., Vol. I, page 47.

French version by Champion: "Il a vrai que je l'ai voulu et le voudrais encore, ainsi qu'il est licite à tout détenu ou prisonnier de s'évader." Champ., Vol. II, page 30.

## Page 109

<sup>1</sup>As before noted, this is clearly an error, either in testimony or transcription. A number of witnesses at the Revision testified that the stay at Neufchâteau did not exceed four or five days.

## Page 110

<sup>1</sup>In some of the transcripts she is made to say that she *had* fasted. The matter, which has caused considerable discussion, is not important, for later she had many visions, whether she had fasted or not. In fact, the omission of the word "not" seems to have been an error.

## Page 111

<sup>1</sup>Joan's statement that she had remained about eight days at her uncle's house probably refers to the length of time she was there before taking up residence in Vaucouleurs. It is highly unlikely that it was eight days after her arrival before she paid her first visit to de Baudricourt. If, as many believe, she returned to Domremy, the eight days could refer to the period of her first sojourn in Burey.

<sup>2</sup>His son-in-law, René of Anjou, then twenty years old, brother of Charles's queen. He was in later years known as "the good King René." He is said to have joined the Maid's army soon after Reims; de Cagny says at Provins.

## Page 112

<sup>1</sup> "Vade, et quod inde poterit venire, veniat!" "Va, et advienne que pourra!"

## Page 117

<sup>1</sup> De Houppeville's opinion as to the motives of the Bishop of Beauvais is echoed by many witnesses. A modern play built on incidents of the Maid's career implies that Cauchon's chief purpose was to save Joan's soul. Such an assumption would seem to disregard the evidence.

## Page 118

<sup>1</sup> In the original: *Dixit ulterius quod venit ex parte Dei, et non habet hic negotiari quidquam, petens ut remitteretur ad Deum a quo venerat.* Quich., Vol. I, page 61.

French rendering by Vallet: Elle ajouta qu'elle venait de la part de Dieu, qu'elle n'a rien à faire ici, demandant qu'on la renvoyât à Dieu, de qui elle venait. *Procès*, Vallet (de Viriville), page 43.

## Page 122

<sup>1</sup> Testimony of Bailiff Massieu; also of Bishop Lefèvre himself. Fabre, Vol. I, page 357 and Vol. II, pages 73-4.

## Page 123

<sup>1</sup> "Si ego non sim, Deus ponat me; et si ego sim, Deus me teneat in illa. Ego essem magis dolens de toto mundo, si ego scirem me non esse in gratia Dei." Quich., Vol. I, page 65.

"Si je n'y suis, Dieu veuille m'y mettre; et si j'y suis, Dieu m'y veuille tenir. Je serais le plus dolente du monde si je savais n'être pas en la grâce de Dieu." French rendering by Champion, Vol. II, page 42.

## Page 128

<sup>1</sup> Certain historians have seen fit to question Massieu's testimony; just why, is not clear. It is always straightforward, and in most cases confirmed by other witnesses. Massieu was in high standing in Rouen, dean of the priests of that city.

## Page 130

<sup>1</sup> "Ego non cognovi eas ita cito; et illud bene scivi aliquando, sed oblita sum; et si habeam licentiam, ego dicam hoc libenter; et est positum in registro apud Pictavis." Original record; Quich., Vol. I, page 72.

"Je ne les ai pas distinguées de sitôt. Autrefois je les ai d'abord bien reconnues, puis j'ai oublié leur figure individuelle; si j'y suis autorisée, je vous le dirais volontiers: cela d'ailleurs est inscrit au registre à Poitiers." French rendering by Vallet de Viriville; *Procès*, page 54.

The Latin *cognovi* is not literally translated, but the Maid's meaning is clearly conveyed.

## Page 132

<sup>1</sup> The Latin original is: *Ulterius dicit quod malet esse distracta cum equis, quam venisse in Franciam sine licentia Dei*; which Champion renders: *En outre dit qu'elle aimerait mieux être tirée par les chevaux que d'être venue en France sans le congé de Dieu.* Champ. *Procès*, Vol. II, page 49.

## Page 142

<sup>1</sup> This incident with a copy of Joan's letter is given on pages 306-308 of Vol. I.

## Page 143

<sup>1</sup> The English lost Paris in 1436. Their great defeat at Formigny did not occur until fourteen years later, but Joan specified no time as to when they would "lose everything."

## Page 144

<sup>1</sup>In the original Latin: “. . . et bene essem irata quod tantum differretur.” Which Vallet de Viriville renders, “et je serais bien marri que cela fût seulement différé.” Champion, conveying what seems a more correct meaning, gives it: “et étais-je bien courroucée que ce fût tant différé.” The present writer has followed the latter form which he believes to give the sense of the Maid's statement.

## Page 153

<sup>1</sup>If Joan had spoken of the wings of Saint Michael, her answer was not recorded. In the confusion that often reigned it is likely that many things she said passed unnoticed by the notaries.

## Page 159

<sup>1</sup>“Ne sçay s'ilz le croient, et m'en actend à leur couraige; mais si ne le croient, si suis-je envoyée de par Dieu.” Quich., Vol. I, page 101.

In the old usage “à leur couraige” is employed to signify “to their heart, or conscience.”

## Page 162

<sup>1</sup>The reader is referred to pages 32-3 of this volume, for comment on this incident.

## Page 163

<sup>1</sup>This is changed from the third to the first person. The original French minute reads:

Dit à ladicte Katherine, qui vouloit aler devers le duc de Bourgogne pour faire paix, qui lui sembloit que on n'y trouveroit point de paix, se ce n'estoit par le bout de la lance. Quich., Vol. I, page 108.

**Page 165**

<sup>1</sup> In the original French minute in the third person :

Respond qu'elle aymeroit mieulx rendre l'âme à Dieu que d'estre en les main des Anglois. Quich., Vol. I, page 110.

**Page 169**

<sup>1</sup> Testimony of Guillaume Manchon ; Fabre, Vol. II, pages 24-7.

**Page 170**

<sup>1</sup> Testimony of Curé Jean Riquier of Rouen, at the Revision in 1456. Fabre, Vol. II, pages 124-25.

**Page 171**

<sup>1</sup> At a meeting at Cauchon's house the day before, the bishop, "in view of his divers occupations, making it impossible to work steadily at the examinations," had delegated de Lafontaine as his deputy examiner, a position he already held, but the functions of which he had never exercised. De Lafontaine, who was highly respected in Rouen, was now, with Lemaître, to become Cauchon's chief symbol of respectability.

**Page 173**

<sup>1</sup> In the original minutes this is recorded in the third person. For example: . . . et estoit la rivière entre Compiègne et le lieu où elle fut prinse ; et n'y avoit seulement, entre le lieu où elle fut prinse et Compiègne, que la rivière, le boulevart et le fossé dudit boulevart. Quich., Vol. I, pages 116-17.

**Page 175**

<sup>1</sup> Charles of Bourbon, Count of Clermont, was one of the first names mentioned in connection with this illusion. On February 22, second day of her examination, Joan said that

Page 175 (*Continued*)

"the King and several others *heard* and *saw* the Voice" that came to her, "and Charles of Bourbon was there, and two or three others." See pages 113-14 of this volume.

## Page 176

<sup>1</sup> "Va hardiement ; que quant tu seras devers le roy, il aura bon signe de te recevoir et croire." Quich., Vol. I, page 120.

## Page 181

<sup>1</sup> If correctly reported, Joan here contradicts herself. During the forenoon she stated that she had obeyed her parents in everything except in the matter of leaving home. As the two things happened concurrently and were closely related she may have regarded them as parts of the same event.

## Page 185

<sup>1</sup> Que le signe, ce fut que l'angle certifioit à son roy en luy apportant la couronne, et luy disant que il aroit tout le royaume de France entièrement à l'aide de Dieu, et moyennant son labour ; et qu'il la meist en besoingne, c'est assavoir que il luy baillast de gens d'armes, autrement il ne seroit mye si tost couronné et sacré. Quich., Vol. I, pages 139-40.

## Page 194

<sup>1</sup> Cauchon never received the Archbishopric of Rouen. He was later excommunicated for misdeeds, and eventually died very suddenly — a fate in that day regarded as a disaster. So much for the warning.

<sup>2</sup> "Pran tout en gré ; ne te chaille de ton martire ; tu t'en vendras enfin eu royaulme de paradis." Quich., Vol. I, page 155.



## Page 200

<sup>1</sup> Joan could have meant by this that she had already seen him, he being then in the same castle where she was confined, as explained on page 92 of this volume.

## Page 201

<sup>1</sup> "Baillez moy abit comme une fille de bourgoys, c'est assavoir houppelande longue, et je prendray, et mesmes le chaperon de femme, pour aler ouyr messe." Quich., Vol. I, page 165.

In that day *houppelande longue* was a kind of long garment worn by both sexes.

## Page 203

<sup>1</sup> In the original French minutes: ". . . et se je avoye rien fait ou dit qui fust sur le corps de moy, que les clerks sceussent dire que ce fust contre le foy chrestienne que notre Sire ait establee, je ne voudroie soustenir; mais le bouteroye hors." Quich., Vol. I, page 166.

## Page 212

<sup>1</sup> In the original French minutes: "Il estoit en la fourme d'un très vray preudomme." In the old French *preudomme* meant a man of wisdom and probity. *Prudhomme* today has a more limited meaning, referring rather to one skilled in some trade or profession.

## Page 214

<sup>1</sup> The acolyte Isambard says that it was Pierre Maurice who this time explained to Joan the divisions of the Church, and that hearing this she offered to submit to the Pope. But this offer came later in the day. There is no reason to believe that her answer is not correctly recorded. Whether Loiseleur had anything to do with it or not is another matter. Probably not.

Page 214 (*Continued*)

<sup>2</sup> The word here is *chemise*, a *chemise* of that day being a long robe, extending to the feet, like a night-dress.

## Page 220

<sup>1</sup> According to Isambard it was following the abjuration, two months later, that de Lafontaine left Rouen.

<sup>2</sup> At the Revision one witness testified that Isambard nudged Joan's elbow and made other signs, and that later Warwick said to him:

"Why did you help that wicked woman by making signs to her? Villain! If I perceive you trying again to help her, I will have you thrown into the Seine!"

## Page 232

<sup>1</sup> Upon this base, and baseless, charge of her enemies is founded the statement of certain of Joan's historians that she journeyed from Neufchâteau, even as many as three times.

## Page 234

<sup>1</sup> The matter of Catherine de la Rochelle appears on pages 16 and 17 of this volume.

## Page 238

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Maurice may have confessed her, but there is no record of it; and also, one or more witnesses testified at the Revision that she confessed only to Loiseleur.

## Page 239

<sup>1</sup> "Quia pro nullo rex volebat quod sua morte naturali moreretur, rex enim eam habetat et care emerat."

"Le roi ne veut pas, pour rien au monde, qu'elle meure de mort naturelle; car il l'a chère, l'ayant chèrement achetée." Fabre, Vol. II, page 17.

<sup>2</sup> Both Delachambre and Tiphaine in the end voted for Joan's conviction. Delachambre in his deposition declared that he was forced by threat of Cauchon to give his signature.

#### Page 249

<sup>1</sup> "Quelque chose qui m'en doive advenir, je n'en feray ou dire; car j'en ay dit devant au proces." Original French minute; Quich., Vol. I, page 379.

#### Page 258

<sup>1</sup> "Quia, si tu credas eis, tu eris destructa." Latin transcript. "Car, si tu leur donnes créance, tu seras détruite." Fabre, Vol. II, page 54.

#### Page 261

<sup>1</sup> Joan's answer is preserved in the original French minute.

"Vraiment, se vous me deviez faire détraire les membres et faire partir l'âme hors du corps, si ne vous diray-je autre chose; et se aucune chose vous en disoye-je, après si diroy-je toujours que vous le me auriés fait dire par force." Quich., Vol. I, page 400.

#### Page 266

<sup>1</sup> They were written in Latin, but a translation of them into modern French appears in Volume II of *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, by Pierre Champion, pages 257-67.

#### Page 276

<sup>1</sup> The original French minute reads:

A quoy elle respond: "Je vous repondray." Et à la submission de l'Eglise, dist: "Je leur ay dit en ce point de toutes les œuvres que j'ay faictes, et les diz, soient envoyées à

Page 276 (*Continued*)

Romme devers nostre saint père le Pape, auquel et à Dieu premier je me rapporte. Et quant aux dis et fais que j'ay fais, je les ay fais de par Dieu." *Item*, dit que de ses fais et dis elle ne charge quelque personne, ne son roy, ne autre; et s'il y a quelque faulte, c'est à elle et non à autre. Quich., Vol. I, page 445.

## Page 278

<sup>1</sup> This testimony translated into modern French is given complete in the *Procès de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, by Joseph Fabre.

## Page 280

<sup>1</sup> Notary Taquel and other witnesses say six or seven lines. This was the abjuration later expanded by Cauchon into five hundred words.

## Page 286

<sup>1</sup> There is an improbable story, told at second hand, that the Duchess of Bedford sent a tailor to measure her, and that in doing so he laid his hand upon her bosom and was boxed for his impudence. Testimony of Marcel, citizen of Paris; Fabre, Vol. II, page 171.

<sup>2</sup> The report literally rendered states that her hair was *shaved* off, the evident purpose being to complete the Maid's humiliation.

The original record reads:

Ipsasque vestes muliebres sibi oblatas, illico depositis vestibus virilibus, induit, atque insuper capillos quos in rotundum tonsos per prius habebat, abradi et deponi voluit et permisit. Quich., Vol. I, page 453.

Ayant donc reçu l'habillement féminin qui lui était présenté, elle le revêtit en dépouillant sur-le-champ son costume d'homme. Elle se laissa en outre enlever et raser les cheveux qu'elle portait auparavant taillés en rond. French version by Vallet; "Proces," page 233.

**Page 288**

<sup>1</sup> “. . . de sa voulenté, sans nulle contraincte, et qu'elle ayme mieulx l'abit d'omne que de femme.” From the original minute; Quich., Vol. I, page 455.

**Page 289**

<sup>1</sup> Respond qu'elle ayme mieulx à mourir que de estre ès fers; mais se on la veult laisser aler à la messe et oster hors de fers, et meictre en prison gracieuse, et qu'elle eust une femme, elle sera bonne et fera ce que l'Église voudra. Original minute; Quich., Vol. I, page 456.

**Page 300**

<sup>1</sup> Michelet, who never hesitates to group events to conform to his ideas of the dramatic requirements, has this scene take place on the scaffold, an arrangement widely followed by later historians.

Joan's accusation of Cauchon, except the final sentence, is verified by Brother Martin Ladvenu.

**Page 310**

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas Venderès, Pierre Maurice, Thomas de Courcelles, Martin Ladvenu, Jacques le Camus, Jean Toutmouillé, and Nicolas Loiseleur.

Of these men, one, Jacques le Camus, was not an assessor, so far as attending examinations. He was one of those who with Cauchon visited Joan on May 28, to certify to her relapse. His name nowhere else appears.

<sup>2</sup> Loiseleur is supposed to have been hiding from Warwick's soldiers at the time of the execution. Certainly there is no mention of his having been near Joan, or even present. That she would ask him to remind her of what under such circumstances would have been of first importance is not worth discussion.

## Page 311

<sup>1</sup> Three other witnesses — Massieu, Delachambre, and Pierre Bouchier — testified that Joan on the scaffold invoked Saint Michael; also, according to Massieu, Saint Catherine and others. Fabre, Vol. II, pages 20, 83, and 130.

## Page 316

<sup>1</sup> This story is from Gabriel Richault's charming *Histoire de Chinon*. The author credits it to Jean and Alain Chartier.

<sup>2</sup> On the fifth day of her examination, March 1, 1431, Joan said, "Before seven years the English will lose a greater prize than they did before Orleans." She added, without specifying any time, that the English would lose everything in France, through a great victory which God would send the French. This could mean the Battle of Formigny, fought in 1450.

## Page 317

<sup>1</sup> Quicherat: "Aperçus de Nouveau," page 104.  
Duboulai; *Historia Univ.*, Vol. V, page 442.

## Page 318

<sup>1</sup> Fabre, Vol. I, pages 231-2. A note to Vol. II, pages 188-9, of the same work contains an extract from a letter written by Inquisitor Jean Brehal to a learned Dominican friar, Brother Léonard, which says: ". . . the process of Rehabilitation particularly interests the very Christian King, who considers that the honour of His Majesty has been enormously injured by his enemies of the English party, when they have persecuted in a matter of faith this simple virgin, who, obedient to a divine inspiration, as seems proved by irresistible evidence, so fortunately conducted the war in his service, and that they wickedly burned her as a heretic to cast discredit on the King and his kingdom. In consequence the King has the keenest desire to have the truth prevail."



## Page 324

<sup>1</sup> He was charged by a woman of Charles's court, who owed him money, with having poisoned the King's mistress, Agnes Sorel. There was not even a pretext for this charge, but the King gave orders for his arrest, and for this and other alleged crimes, including coining, kidnapping, frauds, etc., his property was confiscated and he was sent into exile where he died. Of his possessions, many of which were distributed among Charles's favourites, his beautiful palace remains, today, next to the cathedral, the show place of Bourges. The city has erected facing it a magnificent statue of its former owner.

## Page 326

<sup>1</sup> By approval of Pope Leo XIII, a formal proposal for her canonization was entered in February 1903. A year later, January 6, 1904, she was publicly designated Venerable. In 1908, the decree of beatification was published in Rome and in 1920 her canonization was completed.

## FROM THE LATIN BREVIARY

For May 30, Day of Saint Joan of Arc

I: This is Joan, a most pious and simple maiden, who much feared the Lord, and of whom no one ever said an evil word.

II: The Lord raised her up, and behold the maiden was clad in the armour of God, so that she might withstand the snares of the enemy.

III: Her loins girt with verity and covered with the laurels of justice, she took up the shield and helmet of salvation.

IV: And behold she raised her hand to the people and showed the nations the miracle of the Lord, so as to put the adversary to flight. Alleluia!

V: The angel guarded her; and when going and when stopping, and when returning, as well as in the midst of the fire, he never abandoned her. Alleluia!

## FROM THE HYMN

Raising the people out of profound misery, thou hast accomplished miracles, oh, generous Virgin !

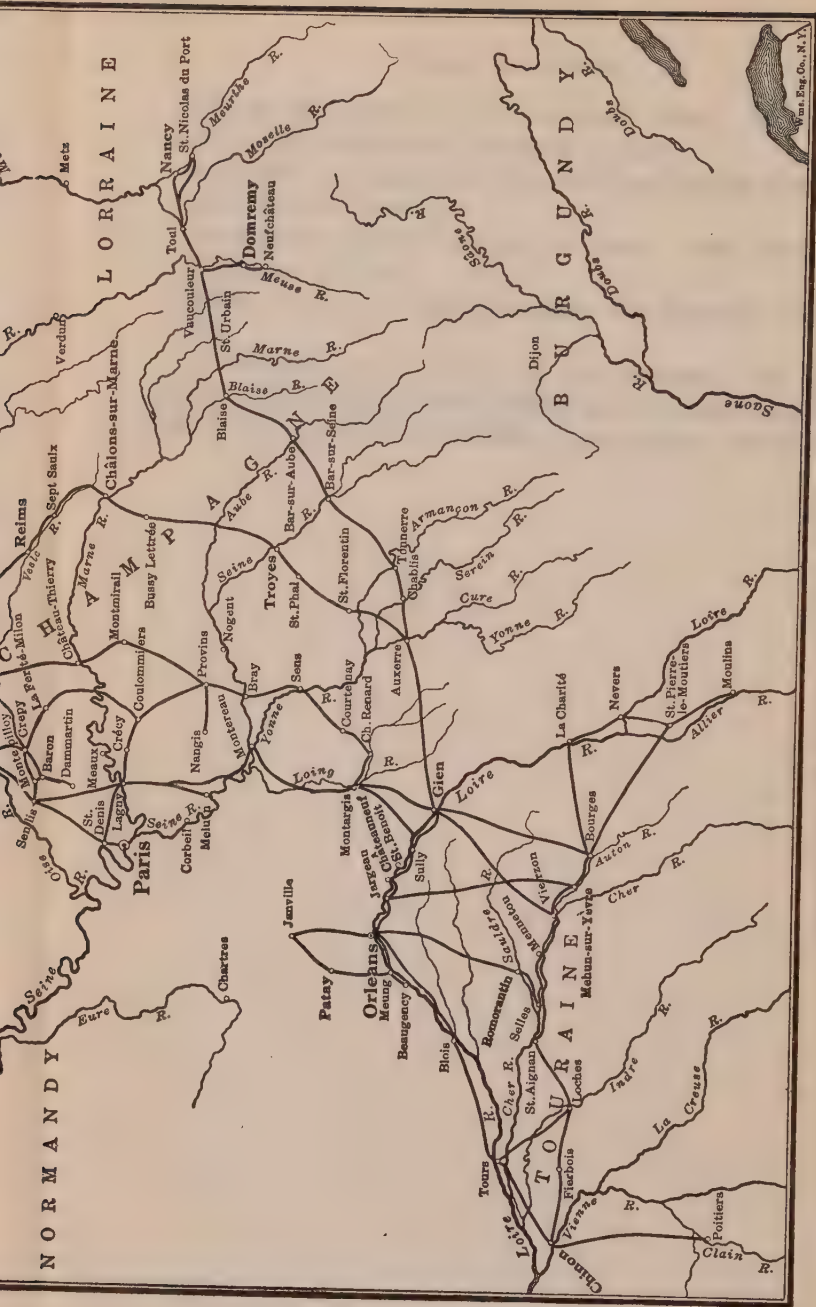
With right shall the generations call thee through centuries  
"Parent of Our Country."

The greatest reward remains the best. New work and new triumph call thee.

God in sending for thee gave thee new strength and the crown.

To Him who gave salvation to the oppressed, the thrice blessed Lord, let us offer our praises, so that France shall live forever through the many merits of her patron. Amen.





GENERAL MAP OF ROUTES FOLLOWED BY JOAN OF ARC  
(See accompanying Itinerary)

# ITINERARY OF JOAN OF ARC

1412-1431

Dates marked with a star are approximate. This list varies in a few of its items from that prepared by Quicherat. The author believes that a careful and comparative study of the records warrants these changes.

1412-1428

	VOL.	PAGES
In and about Domremy.....	I,	3-27

1428

July 18-23*.....	Neufchâteau.....	I,	28-29
Dec. 25*.....	Burey le Petit, Vaucouleurs.....	I,	32-38

1429

Jan. ....	Vaucouleurs, St. Nicolas.....	I,	39
Feb. 1-12.....	Toul, St. Nicolas du Port, Nancy...	I,	41-42
Feb. 23.....	Left Vaucouleurs for Chinon.....	I,	47-48
Feb. 24.....	St. Urbain.....	I,	58-59
Feb. 27.....	Auxerre.....	I,	62-63
Mar. 1*.....	Gien.....	I,	64
Mar. 5.....	St. Catherine de Fierbois.....	I,	65-67
Mar. 6-17*.....	Chinon and St. Florent.....	I,	67-97
Mar. 18-27*.....	Poitiers.....	I,	100-110
Mar. 30-Apr. 23...	Tours.....	I,	117-128
Apr. 23-26.....	Blois.....	I,	129-133
Apr. 28-29.....	Chécy, Reuilly.....	I,	141
Apr. 29-May 9....	Orleans.....	I,	142-179
May 9-11.....	Cléry, Tours.....	I,	188-193
May 12-23*.....	Loches.....	I,	193-198
May 24-June 6...	In and about Selles.....	I,	202-203
June 6-8.....	Romorantin.....	I,	207
June 9-10.....	Orleans.....	I,	207
June 11-12.....	Jargeau.....	I,	208-211
June 13-14.....	Orleans.....	I,	212-213

	VOL. PAGES
June 15.....Meung-sur-Loire.....	I, 213
June 16-17.....Beaugency.....	I, 213-216
June 18.....Patay.....	I, 224-230
June 19-24.....Orleans, with brief journeys to Sully, St. Benoit, Chateauneuf.....	I, 239-241
June 24-27.....Gien.....	I, 241-245
June 27-29.....Camp in the field.....	I, 245-246
June 29.....En route with the army for Reims..	I, 246-247
July 1-3.....Before Auxerre.....	I, 248-249
July 3.....St. Florentin.....	I, 249
July 4.....St. Phal.....	I, 249-250
July 5-12.....Troyes.....	I, 251-260
July 13-14.....Bussy-Lettré.....	I, 261
July 14-15.....Châlons-sur-Marne.....	I, 262-263
July 16.....Sept-Saulx.....	I, 263
July 16-21.....Reims.....	I, 264-287
July 21.....Corbény (St. Marcoul).....	I, 287
July 22.....Vailly.....	I, 288
July 23-28.....Soissons.....	I, 289
July 29.....Château-Thierry.....	I, 289
Aug. 1.....Montmirail.....	I, 289-290
Aug. 2-5.....Provins (Nangis, Bray).....	I, 290-291
Aug. 7.....Coulommiers.....	I, 293
Aug. 10.....La Ferte-Milon.....	I, 298
Aug. 11.....Crépy-en-Valois.....	I, 298-300
Aug. 12.....Lagny-le-Sec.....	I, 300
Aug. 13.....Dammartin.....	I, 300
Aug. 14.....Baron.....	I, 300
Aug. 14-15.....Montépilloy.....	I, 301-304
Aug. 16-17.....Crépy-en-Valois.....	I, 304
Aug. 18-23.....Compiègne (Senlis).....	I, 304-308
Aug. 26-Sept. 8....St. Denis and La Chapelle.....	I, 308-311
Sept. 8.....Attack on Paris.....	I, 312-319
Sept. 9.....La Chapelle and St. Denis.....	I, 320-322
Sept. 10-13.....St. Denis.....	I, 322-323
Sept. 13.....Left St. Denis for the Loire.....	II, 3
Sept. 14-21.....Lagny, Provins, Bray, Sens, Courte- nay, Châteaurenard, Montargis, Gien.....	II, 3-4
Sept. and Oct. ....Meun-sur-Yèvre, Bourges.....	II, 7-8
Oct. and Nov. ....St. Pierre-le-Moutier.....	II, 8-10
Nov. 9.....Moulins.....	II, 11-12



	VOL.	PAGES
Nov. 24*.....La Charité.....	II,	14-15
Dec. 25.....Jargeau.....	II,	16
Dec. ....Meun-sur-Yèvre.....	II,	17-18

## 1430

Dec. 19.....Orleans.....	II,	20
Mar. 3*-28.....Sully.....	II,	22-25
Mar. or Apr.....Departure from Sully.....	II,	25-31
Apr. ....Lagny.....	II,	31-33
Apr. 17-23.....Melun.....	II,	34-35
Apr.....Senlis, Compiègne, Berenglise near Elincourt St. Marguerite, Soissons, Crépy-en-Valois.....	II,	36
May 14-15.....Compiègne and Pont l'Evêque.....	II,	37-38
May 18.....Soissons.....	II,	38-39
May 19.....Crépy-en-Valois.....	II,	39
May 23.....Left Crépy-en-Valois.....	II,	39-40
May 23.....Compiègne, and assault on Margny; capture.....	II,	41-45
May 23-25*.....Clairoix.....	II,	51
May, June, July....Beaulieu, a prisoner.....	II,	51-61
Mid-July to Mid- November.....Beaurevoir.....	II,	61-71
Nov.....Arras, St. Riquier, Drugy, Le Crotoy.....	II,	73-78
Dec.....Le Crotoy, St. Valery, Eu, Dieppe, Arques, Rouen.....	II,	78-79
Dec. 25,* 1430 to May 30, 1431....Prisoner in a tower of the castle of Philip Augustus, Rouen.....	II,	87-301
May 24, 1431.....Abjuration at the church of St. Ouen.....	II,	275-286
May 30, 1431.....Execution at the Old Market.....	II,	302-306



## AUTHORITIES CONSULTED

### A LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT SOURCES OF INFORMATION CONCERNING JOAN OF ARC

TITLE	DATE
<i>Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc,</i>	1431
<i>Procès de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc,</i>	1450-56
For particulars of these chief items see Appendix, Vol. I, p. 331. The Chroniques that follow, with others of more or less value, will be found in Vol. IV of M. Quicherat's great collection. With one exception, they are in early French and so far as the writer knows have never been printed elsewhere.	
<i>Chroniques:</i>	
By Perceval de Cagny,	1429-36
Le hérault Berri,	1455
Jean Chartier,	1440-50
Pierre Sala,	1516
Jean Rogier,	before 1637
Mathieu Thomassin,	1456
Enguerran de Monstrelet,	1440
Jean de Wavrin du Forestel,	1455-60
Jean Lefèvre de Saint-Remi,	1460
Georges Chastellain,	about 1460
Clément de Fauquemberque, greffier,	1429
Le prétendu Bourgeois de Paris,	1440 (?)
Éberhard de Windecken, (German)	after 1429
<i>Journal du Siège d'Orleans, etc.</i>	1467
<i>Chronique de la Pucelle,</i>	after 1467
<i>Le Miroir des femmes Vertueuses,</i>	1498
Letters of Joan and others (see Index, this volume, under "Letters").	
Extracts from ancient City Accounts—Orleans, Tours, Reims, etc. <sup>1</sup>	
Manuscripts in the <i>Bibliothèque Nationale</i> and <i>Bibliothèque de la Chambre des députés</i> , Paris.	

<sup>1</sup> The Letters and the City Accounts, with numerous miscellaneous items, will be found in Vol. V of the Quicherat collection. (For information concerning this monumental work, see Vol. I, p. 331, and Vol. II, p. 326, of this present biography.)



## INDEX

NOTE. Names having prefixes such as *de*, *du*, *le*, *la*, etc., are indexed under the capital initial, — the name *d'Arc* for instance being under *A*, *la Chapelle* under *C*. The spelling of many old French names presents problems which make uniformity next to impossible.

### A

- Abbeville; **I**, 305; **II**, 74; "ladies from," 77.
- Abjuration; **II**, 275-83; scene of, 328.
- Agincourt; **I**, 75, 77, 92; **II**, 74.
- Aimery, Guillaume; questions *J.* at Poitiers, **I**, 102, 103.
- Alain, Jacques; with *J.* to St. Nicolas, **I**, 38; gives horse, 47.
- d'Albret; Seigneur, **I**, 268; **II**, 7; commands with *J.*, **II**, 9, 12.
- Alençon, Duke of, Joan's "beau duc"; **I**, 79; meets *J.*, 92; gives her horse, 93; her mission, 94, 95; "Mon beau duc," 96; dines with *J.*, 100; goes to Blois, 117; 118, 130, 131, 197; orders from *J.*, 198; 200; loses at tennis, 203; 204, 205; with *J.* to Orleans, 208; at Jargeau, 209-11; return to Orleans, 212; *J.* orders march on Meung, 213; at Beaugency, 215; 219, 220, 224; Patay, 229; 231; tribute to *J.*, 232-33; 239, 246; at Troyes, 254; coronation, 268; at Bray, 291; Montépilloy, 301-304; *J.* orders march on Paris, 306; 308; goes after King, 310-11; Paris, 321-22; **II**, parts from *J.*, 5; 9; in Normandy, 22; 175, 188, 263, 299; fate of, 323.
- Alençon, mother and wife of; *J.* visits, **I**, 96-97; promised his safe return, 209; 336; **II**, 5, (wife).
- Alepée, Jean, cleric, **II**, 312.
- Allegory, *see* "Sign."
- Ambleville, herald to Joan, kept by English; **I**, 340-41.
- America; reveres *J.*, **II**, 327.
- Amiens, city; would yield to *J.*, **I**, 305.
- Ampoule, Sacred; brought to cathedral, Reims, **I**, 265; 269.
- l'Ane Rayé, inn at Reims, lodging of Jacques d'Arc; **I**, 264, 272; 361.
- André, Major; **II**, 267.
- d'Anjou, Charles; replaces La Trémouille; **II**, 316.
- d'Anjou, Marie, Queen of France; **I**, 42, 81, 86, 100, 243; letter to, 265-69; 282; **II**, 7, 299.
- Anjou, three gentlemen of (Beauveau, Moreal, and Lussé); Letter to two queens on coronation, **I**, 265-69, 282.
- d'Anjou, René, Duke of Bar, "the good king René"; **I**, 42, 291, 303; at Paris, 314, 321; 365; **II**, 341.
- Aquitaine, duchy of; offered to the English, **I**, 75.
- Aragon, Yolande of, *see* Yolande.
- l'Arbre des Dames, *see* Tree.
- d'Arc, Isabelle, wife of Jacques, *see* Romée.
- d'Arc, Jacques, father of Joan; garden of, **I**, 3; character, 5; his dream, 26; at Neufchâteau, 28; 29, 30, 35, 36, 37; at Reims, 264; favors from the king, 271-72; "Jacques' hour," 273; ennobled, **II**, 17; 103, 299; dies of grief, 319.
- d'Arc, brothers of Joan; Jacquemin, Jean and Pierre, **I**, 4; Jean and Pierre join their sister, 120-22; their armour, 125, 128; leave Tours, 129; Orleans, 143; Pierre, 180, ennobled and takes name of du Lys, **II**, 17; leave Sully with *J.*, 30; 39; captured with *J.*, 45; 61, 173, 299; Jean, 319, 323; Pierre, 323.

d'Arc, Jeanne, *see* Joan of Arc.  
 Arcis, town of; **I**, 261, 276.  
 Archbishop of Reims, *see* de Chartres.  
 Armagnac, Earl; Orleans marries his daughter, **I**, 73; king's party named for him, 74; murdered, 75.  
 Armagnac, Count of; writes to J., **I**, 306; her answer, 307; **II**, 141.  
 Armagnacs, general name for the party of Charles VII.  
 Arras, capital of Artois; **II**, 73, 156; J. saw painting at, 159; 232, 237; Treaty of, 316.  
 d'Arras, Franquet; **II**, 31-32, 33: 196, 336.  
 Arques la Bataille; **II**, 79, 83.  
 Aubery, Maire, wife of; had seen fairies, **I**, 12, 15; **II**, 125, 214.  
 Augustines (*or* St. Augustines), English stronghold at Orleans; **I**, 150, 162; capture of, 163-64.  
 d'Aulon, Jean, appointed to J's "household," **I**, 117; 128; leaves Tours, 129; 144; narrates, 146; dines with J., 154; Battle of St. Loup, 155-56; tells of Augustines, 162-64; Tourelles, 172; description of J., 233; 344; at St. Pierre, **II**, 9-11; leaves Sully with J., 30; 39; at Compiègne, 44-5; 52, 60, 299; sought as witness, 318; old age, 324; says J. did not mature, 333; 337.  
 Auxerre, city; J. hears mass at, **I**, 62; 247; route to Reims, 248-49; 274.

## B

*Baedeker*; **I**, 362, 337.  
 Bâle (Switzerland), Council of, **II**, 221, 222, 224, 255, 257, 322.  
 Banner, *see* Tours.  
 Bar, duchy of (Barrois), **I**, 143, 339.  
 Barbin, Jean; saw J. at Poitiers, **I**, 104-105; at Loches, 349.  
 Baron, village; **I**, 300, 327.  
 Basilica, Domremy; **I**, 55.  
 Basque; carries J's banner, **I**, 172.  
 Bastard of Granville; insults J., **I**, 341.  
 de Baudricourt, Robert, Captain of Vaucouleurs; **I**, 14-15, 18; J. sent to, 29, 32; recognizes him, 33;

interview, 34; 36-40; 44-47; "Go, and let come what may!" 48; 68, 85, 104, 125; in J's testimony, **II**, 101, 111, 112, 179, 182, 232, 323, 341.  
 Beauce, country above Loire; **I**, 153, 217, 222, 226.  
 Beaucroix, Simon, of J's guard; **I**, 135, 140; at Augustines, 164-65; Tourelles, 344.  
 "beau duc," *see* Alençon.  
 Beaufort, Henry, Bishop (Cardinal) of Winchester; army of, **I**, 288, 292, 301; **II**, 65, 238; at Abjur., 282; weeps at J's execution, 303.  
 Beaugency; taken by English, **I**, 29; 138, 187, 197, 213; surrenders, 215; Constable comes to, 216; 220; 222; 224, 231; statue to J., 234; landmarks, 235; 240; anniversary of, **II**, 61.  
 Beaulieu; prison of J., **II**, 51, 60-61, 80; J's attempted escape from, 200.  
 de Beaulieu, Camus; assassinated, **I**, 216.  
 Beaupère, Jean, examiner of J.; **II**, 108, 128, 141, 168, 243; sent to U. of Paris, 263, 264; at Abjur., 275, 281.  
 "beau procès"; preparation of, **II**, 87, 94; de Houpeville's opinion of, 115-16; 242, 270, 278; ends, 296.  
 Beaurevoir, J's prison there; **II**, 61-63; ladies of, 61-62; Cauchon comes to, 69; J. leaps from tower of, 70, 71; J. leaves, 73; today, 80; J's testimony on, 164, 196, 205, 206, 207; 232.  
 Beauvais, town; Pierre Cauchon retires from, **I**, 304; **II**, 4.  
 Beauvais, Bishop of, *see* Cauchon.  
 Bedford, Duke of, Regent of France and England; **I**, 78; letter to, 107-108; gets news Orleans, 189; 217; 228, 289, 290; leads army, 292; writes Charles, 293-94; 295, 298, 300; at Montépilloy, 301-302; retires to Normandy, 305, 306; strengthens alliance with Burgundy, **II**, 4; orders *Te Deums* after J's capture, 57; his plans, 63-4, 75-77; 143; would not have J. die natural death, 238-39, 247; 316; his letter, 339-40.



- Bedford, Duchess of; certifies to J's chastity, **II**, 87; 350.
- Belle Croix, Orleans; J. speaks to English from, **I**, 145; 146, 341.
- Bellier, Guillaume and Madame; given care of J., Chinon, **I**, 91.
- Be(o)renglise, chateau, **II**, 36, 336.
- Bermont, Our Lady of, (chapel, near Greux), **I**, 16, 17, 25, 56.
- Berri, Le Hérault; **I**, 341; **II**, 37, 38, 333.
- Berwoit (Berwick?), John; guard, **II**, 105.
- Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés*, Paris, **II**, 107.
- Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris; **I**, 199, 335, 366; **II**, 107.
- Blois; army assembles at, **I**, 119; J. leaves for, 129; marches from, 133-35; 138, 140, 144, 145, 146, 152.
- Bois Chenu, or Chesnu, Domremy; **I**, 15, 26, 54; **II**, 126.
- "Boisguillaume" (Colles, William); appointed recorder, **II**, 94; testifies, 123, 208-209; signature, 245; 258, 291, 309.
- de Boisy; king's secret, **I**, 89.
- Boucher, Charlotte; **I**, 143.
- Boucher, Jacques, Orleans; his home J's lodging, **I**, 143, 160, 161; 180, 181, 183, 212.
- Boucher, Madame, **I**, 143, 154; arms J., 155.
- Bouchier Pierre, Curé; testifies, **II**, 89, 352.
- Boulainvilliers, Perceval; letter of, **I**, 352-58.
- Bourbon, Charles, Count of Clermont, Duke of; **I**, 246, 254, 268, 291; at Montépilloy, 303; at Paris, 314, 321; **II**, 114, 175, 256, 345-46.
- "Bourgeois of Paris," chronicler; **I**, 312, 314, 366; **II**, 334, 339.
- Bourges, city, "king of"; **I**, 76, 78, 82; 131; Queen at, 243; J. at, **II**, 7-8; 14; court at, 18; Cathedral of, 28, 334.
- de Bourlemont, Pierre, castle and family of, Domremy; **I**, 11, 14, 19, 50, 55; **II**, 125.
- Bournel, Guichard, traitor; **II**, 38-9; 165.
- de Boussac (St. Severe), Marshal of France; **I**, 160; 195, 203, 206; at Patay, 227; 246; at Paris, 313; **II**, 14, 21, 57, 256, 263, 299.
- Bray, town of, army turns back at, **I**, 291-92; **II**, 3.
- Brehal, Jean; letter concerning Revision, **II**, 352.
- Brie, province; **I**, 289, 290, 292.
- Brittany, Arthur, Duke of, *see* Richemont.
- Brook of the Three Sources, Domremy; **I**, 3, 53.
- Brother Richard, friar; at Troyes, **I**, 252; "sow beans," 253; 257, 258, 275, 293; **II**, 16-17, 92, 158, 160; at Reims, 161; 163, 334.
- Bruges; letter from, **I**, 95.
- Budé, secretary to Charles VII; signs letter, **I**, 348.
- Burgundy, Philip, Duke of; allied with England, **I**, 19, 77, 78, 192; alliance strained, 198; J. writes to, 245; 251; negotiations with, 282; J's second letter, 283-84; attitude toward J., 285; Charles's treaty with, 287; assembling forces, 288; 294; wariness of, 298; 300, 305; Charles would give him Compiègne, 309-10; new truce with, 310; 359, 364; **II**, truce extended, 8; 21; announces J's capture, 57-59; asked to deliver J., 64-66; 163; 261; becomes lukewarm to England, concludes treaty with Charles VII, 316; 344.
- Burey-le-Petit (Burey en Vaux), village; home of Laxart, **I**, 30; J. goes to, 31; 36, 56, 68; **II**, 341.
- Bussy-Lettrée, village; camp, **I**, 261, 276.

C

- de Cagny, Perceval, chronicler; squire of Alençon, **I**, 95; tells of J's visit to St. Florent, 96; 198, 207; at Jargeau, 208-11; at Orleans, 213; Beaugency, 224; 239, 240; tells of J's orders to march, 241; of J's grief at delay, 245; of camp in the fields, 246; at Troyes, 251; way to Reims, 260; 288-92; Montépilloy, 301-304; King content, 306; to Paris, 308;

- Paris, 310-14; J., wounded, would attack, 320-21; J. offers armour at St. Denis, 322-23; 336, 342, 349, 350, 352, 366; tells of return to Loire, II, 3, 4, 5, 6; of La Charité, 14; of J's "flight," 29, 30; of Lagny, etc., 33, 34; of J's capture, 44-45, 52, 56; 336, 341.
- Calais, last English holding in France, II, 317.
- de Cailly, Gui, shared vision with J. (?), I, 339.
- Calot, Laurent, at Abjuration, II, 282.
- Cambrai, town, II, 61, 73, 81.
- le Camus, Jacques, signs suppl. rep., II, 351.
- Castres, Bishop of, I, 196.
- Catherine de la Rochelle, *see* de la Rochelle.
- Catherine, of France; to marry Henry V of England; I, 77; marriage, 259, 275.
- Catherine, Saint, *see* Saint.
- Cauchon, Pierre, Bishop of Beauvais; retires from Beauvais, I, 304; given charge of J's case, II, 65; negotiates for her, 66-8; 75-6; his "*beau procès*," 87; attitude toward J., 88, 116, 127, 342; appoints officials, 94-99; convenes trial, 100-102; examines J., 102-107; warned by J., 120; reprimands de Chatillon, 155; incensed at Lohier, 168; J. complains to him of her guards, 202; sets a spy on J., 209-10; "Silence! in the devil's name!" 221; visits J., 226-28; sends J. a carp, 237; mistake of "*beau procès*," 242; 243; visits J., 246-47; admonition of J., 251-58; confronts J. with torture, 259-62; sends "twelve articles" to Paris, 263-68; his "new idea," 269; declares J's case concluded, 272; at Abjuration, 276-82; sends J. back to civil prison, 284-85; establishes J's relapse, 288-93; "She is caught!" 294; presides at judgment, 295-98; day of execution, 300-303; his supplementary report, 309-11; not at Revision, 321; his end, 322; 345, 349.
- de Chabannes, Antoine; tomb of, I, 327, 367.
- Chalons-sur-Marne, city; I, 253; delivers keys, 261; King and J. enter, friends from Domremy, 262; 276.
- Champion, Pierre, I, 331 and notes.
- de Champeaux, Jean; tells of J's service in the field before Orleans, I, 177.
- Chancellor of France, *see* de Chartres.
- la Chapelle, town of; camp before Paris, I, 310, 313, 314; reinforcements, 321; 328.
- (La) Charité; in English hands, I, 82; II, 8; siege of, 11-15, 18; landmarks, 26; J. testifies of, 164, 190, 304; 334.
- Charles, Simon; saw J. at Chinon, I, 84-85; at St. Benoît, 240; at Orleans, 344; at Troyes, 360.
- Charles V, "the Wise," I, 71.
- Charles VI, demented, I, 71, 72, 73, 75, 77; dies, 78; 318.
- Charles VII; called Dauphin; J's zeal for his restoration; I, 19; demoralized, 20; J. chosen to restore him, 20-23; 25, 26; his cause desperate, 29; J. starts to his rescue, 32-34, 40; Baudricourt writes to him of J., 45; J. starts to his relief, 48; disowned and discouraged, 57; 61; J. sends him letters, 65; J. reaches him, 67, 68; his court, 71; "king of Bourges," 76; present at murder of John the Fearless, 77; disowned by Isabeau, 78; without money or support, 79; personnel of his court, 79-83; receives J., 84-88; secret message, 89-90; introduces Alençon, 92; wishes J. examined, 93-94; symbol to J., 99; to Poitiers with J., 100, 102-107; why J. called him "Dauphin," 109; receives report from doctors, 110; report of J's purity, 117; orders armour for J., 120; treasury empty, 130; 140, 144; J. prophesies her wound to, 166; 178; J. brings news of Orleans to, 192; (letter to Narbonne, 346-48); Loches, 193; urged by J. to go to Reims, 195-97; low finances, 198; grants hearings to J., 199, 200;

- at St. Aignan, 202, 204; 208; Constable's estrangement, 214; 224; 232; expected at Orleans, 239; at Sully, Châteauneuf and St. Benoît, 240; uncertainty, 241; J. reconciles him to Constable, 242; faith in J., 243; starts for Reims, 246-47; before Troyes, 250, 252, 253; holds council, 254-56; enters Troyes, 258; way to Reims, 260; Chalons, 261, 262; Reims, 264-65; crowned, 265-71; abolishes taxes, Domremy, 271-72; lingers in Reims, 282; treating with Burgundy, 285; St. Marcoul, 287; 288; to Soissons, etc., 289; Provins, 290; turned back from Bray, 291; letter from Bedford, 293; drifting, 300; Montépilloy, 301-303; Crépy and Compiègne, 304; 305; treating with Burgundy, 308; rebuked by Compiègne, 309; comes to St. Denis, 311; sends for J., 321; holds council — will return to Loire, 322; grants hearings to de Cailly, 339; 355, 356, 363; returns to Loire, II, 3-4; at Gien, 5; at Bourges, 7; sends J. to St. Pierre le Moutier, 9; 14; ennobles J. and family, 17, 24, 30, 34; attitude after J's capture, 55-6, 60; 63; J. testifies of, 112, 113, 114, 120, 121, 124, 126, 130, 133-34, 137, 147, 148, 150-51, 156, 174, 176, 178, 183, 185-89; 201, 204, 213, 219, 224; Bedford would put blemish on his title, 63, 99, 247; 271; defended by J. on the scaffold, 279; 299; J. at execution prays for, 303; loses La Trémouille, 316; enters Paris, 316-17; purges his title, 318-20; 321; end, 324-25.
- Charles VIII; I, 188.
- Charny, the sire of, II, 4.
- Chartier, Alain, poet and secretary to Charles VI and Charles VII; quoted, I, 74 at Chinon, 81; 88, 100; quoted, 109-10; letter of, 362-63; II, 352.
- Chartier, Jean, royal chronicler, I, 153, 161, 200; tells how J. held army together, 249; of King's Council, 254-57; 290; fate of J's armour, 329; 359; II, 14, 21, 30-31, 336, 352.
- Chartres, battle of, II, 323.
- de Chartres, Regnault, Archbishop of Reims and Chancellor of France; character of, I, 80; at Chinon, 86, 94; to Poitiers, 100; 101, 110; to Blois, 129; before Troyes, 254; 256; letter to Reims, 260; enters Reims, 263; at coronation, 265, 268; 282; love of negotiation, 285; 298, 299, 308; urged Compiègne to surrender to Burgundy, 309; against taking Paris, 320; against J. going with Alençon, II, 5; in Compiègne, 36; 38-9; signature, 40; maligns J., 53; 115; "sign," 175, 185, 188, 256; 316, 318.
- Chastellain, Georges, chronicler; tells of Compiègne, II, 44.
- Château-Thierry, town; I, 289, 324, 325; II, 18, 160, 161.
- Châteauneuf, town; J. meets King at, I, 240; Châteaurenard, II, 3-4.
- de Chatillon, Jean, favours J., II, 155, 167, 252-54.
- Chécy, village, convoy landed at, I, 135, 141, 150; Lord of, 339.
- Chef-de-Guerre* (J. as), I, 108, 109, 118; issues order to Alençon, 198; goes to Romorantin to order arrivals, 203; issues order to Alençon, 213, 241, 306.
- Cherbourg, road to; landmark, II, 317.
- Chinon, castle and town; I, 39, 45; J's start for, 48, 57; journey to, 58-67; Charles court at, 82; J's arrival there, 84-88; J's lodging in, 91, 92; 96; view from castle, 97, 98; bearings given J. at, 199-200; 338; J. testifies of, II, 112, 134, 185-87, 233; end of La Trémouille at, 315-16.
- Choisy, town; besieged, II, 36-38.
- Church, the; II, 63, 199, 213, 236, 241, 246-47, 249, 253, 255-57, 261, 268, 270-72, 284, 285-86.
- Clairoix, camp of John of Luxembourg; II, 41, 43, 51, 54, 337.
- Clasdas, Classidas, etc., *see* Glasdale.

- Clermont, Count of, *see* Bourbon, Duke of.
- Clermont Ferrand, city; **II**, 12, 334.
- Cléry, church and town; **I**, 135, 188.
- Clothing, Joan's, *see* Dress.
- Cœur, Jacques, of Bourges; finances Charles, **II**, 317; his fall, 324, 353.
- Colet, Colez or Coulon (de Vienne), King's messenger; with J. to Chinon, **I**, 41, 46, 47, 60, 106, 346.
- Colles, William, *see* "Boisguillaume."
- Compaing, Pierre, canon; saw La Hire confess, **I**, 147.
- Compiègne, city; **I**, 122; yields to King, 304; King lingers at, 306. J. leaves, 308; rejects Burgundy, 309; King and Burgundy make new treaty at, 310; 327; **II**, 33; J. at, 38; J. captured at, 39-45; map of, 42; landmarks, 46-7; 51-53; J. testifies of, 136, 164, 171-73; 337.
- Condemnation of the Maid; **II**, 295-298.
- Constable of France, *see* Richemont.
- de Contes, Louis, page to Jean; appointed, **I**, 91-2; with her at Coudray, 96; at Tours, 120; 122; to Blois, 129; to Orleans, 134, 144; "graceless boy!" 155; 157, 165, 168; at Tourelles, 170, 171; at Patay, 229; at coronation, 271; Mark Twain's hero, 336; 341, 344, 358; **II**, later years of, 324.
- Corbény, town (St. Marcoul); **I**, 287, 324, 363.
- Coronation at Reims; departure for, **I**, 246-47; Auxerre, 248-49; St. Florentin, 249; St. Phal, 250; Troyes, 251-260; Bussy-Lettrée, 261; Chalons, 262; Sept-Saulx, 263; Reims, 264; Sacred Ampoule, 265, 267, 268; ceremony described by gentlemen of Anjou, 266-69; crown, 270; J's father present, 271; **II**, J. testifies of, 224, 234.
- Coudray, château and tower; J's lodging at Chinon, **I**, 91; J's life there, 96; view from, 97; ruin of, 98; **II**, 315.
- Coudun, **II**, 51.
- Coulange-la-Vineuse, village; **II**, 135.
- Coulommiers, town, **I**, 291, 293, 326.
- de Courcelles, Thomas, assessor; editor of trial report, **II**, 107; 140, 168; tells of Loiseleur, 210-11; 230, 243; votes for torture of J., 262; for conviction, 297-98; joins in sup. report, 311, 351; at Revision, 319; preached to Charles, 321-22; 324.
- Courtenay, town; **II**, 3.
- Coussey, village; **I**, 14, 50.
- Crécy, battle of; **I**, 71, 92; field of, **II**, 74.
- Crépy-en-Valois, town; **I**, 298, 300, 303; keys of Compiègne delivered at, 304; 326; **II**, 39, 171, 337.
- Croix Morin, Orleans; J. speaks to English from, **I**, 147.
- Crotoy, Le, town and fortress; Alençon confined in, **I**, 92; J. confined in, **II**, 74; illus., 75; 77, 78; landmarks, 80, 82-3.
- Crown, *see* "Sign."
- de Culan, Admiral of France; at Blois, **I**, 130; start for Reims, 246; left at St. Denis, 328.
- Cusquel, Pierre, testifies, **II**, 311.

## D

- Dammartin, town; **I**, 300; church, etc., 326-27; Count of, *see* de Chabannes, Antoine.
- Daron, Pierre, visits J. in prison, **II**, 90.
- Danton; birthplace of, **I**, 276.
- Dauphin, *see* Charles VII.
- Delachambre, Guillaume (medic.); attends J. in illness, **II**, 237-39; 272; at abjuration, 281; votes for J's conviction, 297, 349; 352.
- Denis, St., church; *see* St. Denis.
- du Desert, Guillaume, votes for conviction, **II**, 297.
- Desjardins, Guillaume (medic.), visits J., **II**, 238-239.
- Desvergnès, sculptor; statue by, **II**, 81 (illus. facing 214, vol. **I**).
- Dieppe; **II**, 79.
- Domremy, birthplace of Joan; **I**, 3-5; picture of, 7; lords of, 14; the Tree, 9-15; Marguerite of (illus.), 17; on main road, 18; Dom. boys fought with those of Maxey, 19; life in, 24-5; 26;

raided, 28; news of siege of Orleans, 29; 33; time of J's departure from, 34; 36; 43; today, 54, 55 (pictures, 51-53); legends in, 111 note; *see also* letter, 353; 262; freed of taxes, 271-73; 339; "informations," from, II, 87, 95; J. testifies of, 124-26; 231.

Dress, worn by Joan; feature of her trial and conviction, II, 120, 132-33, 156, 161, 182, 201-203, 214-15, 227, 232, 268, 280, 281, 286, 287-90, 293, 294.

Drury, château and farm; II, 74, 81.

Dunois, Bastard of Orleans; I, 73, 79, 86; with J. at Orleans, 136-38, 140, 141; 144; sends message to English, 145; returns to Blois, 146; from Blois, 152; brings rumor of Fastolf, 154; 160, 161; tells of J's wound, 171; 172; after "Tourelles," 175; sees English go, 177; 178; at Loches, 195, 197; 198, 204; after Jargeau, 212; 219, 231, 234, 241, 246; at Troyes, 257; on J's mission, 281; tells J's longings, 298-99; 351; II, 263, 299, 317, 323.

E

d'Élincourt St. Marguerite; II, 36, 336.

Embrun, Archbishop of (Jacques Gelu); I, 189; II, 55, 177.

d'Épinal, Gérardin, I, 12; "Com-père," 27; meets J. at Chalons, 262.

d'Épinay, P., statue by; I, 271; II, frontispiece.

Érard, Guillaume, preacher to J. at abjuration; II, 276-81, 321.

Erault, Jean, Poitiers; I, 105.

l'Esbahy, Jacques, tells of J's heralds, I, 340-41.

d'Estivet, Jean, appointed prosecutor, II, 94, 95; 99, 127-28; acts as spy, 208; 226; calls J. "strumpet," etc., 237-39; 247, 253, 268; fate of, 321.

d'Estouteville, Guillaume, Cardinal; delivers sentence of rehabilitation, II, 329.

Étampes, town; I, 217, 228.

Eu, town; J. passes through, II, 79; 83; Archbishop of, 296.

F

Fabre, Joseph, *see* Appendix, I, 333.

Faculties of the University of Paris; II, 264, 265, 266.

Fairy Tree, *see* Tree.

Famine; I, 74.

Fastolf, Fastol, Fastre, Fastot, etc. English commander; I, 154, 155, 176, 207; army of, 217-23; at Patay, 227, 228; 231, 244, 245, 357.

le Fau, tree; I, 12; J. testifies of, II, 125.

de Fauquemberque, Clément, *greffier*; I, 312, 314; account of "Paris," 317-18; 364.

Fave, Jean, testifies of abjuration, II, 283-84.

de la Fayette, Marshal; I, 220.

Fécamp, Gilles, abbé of; II, 94, 115-16; votes for J's conviction, 296.

(La) Ferté Milon, town; I, 298, 326.

Feuillet, Gérard, assessor; II, 171, 181, 212.

Fierbois, *see* St. Catherine de.

de Flavay, Guillaume, gov. of Com-piègne; II, 41; sees J's capture, 44; case of, 52-55; 337.

Flood, Dr. Alice, I, 364.

Fontaine des Groseilliers, Currant Spring, I, 9, 10; J. hears voices there, 22; today, 55.

du Forestel, *see* de Wavrin.

Formigny, Battle of; II, 317, 318, 323, 343, 352.

Foucault, Jean, soldier; II, 31.

Fournier, Jean, curé at Vaucouleurs; I, 44, adjures J., 46.

Foyatier, equestrian statue by, (Orleans;) I, 181.

France, Anatole; I, 360, 362.

Franquet d'Arras, *see* d'Arras.

Frémier, equestrian statue by; (Paris) I, 328; illus., II, facing 8.

Fronte, Guillaume, curé, Domremy; I, 17.

G

Garivel, François, at Poitiers, I, 109, 338.



- de Gaucourt, Raoul, Captain of Chinon, etc.; I, 81; sees J's arrival, 88, 91; wife of, 117; 130; at Orleans, 138, 162, 168; 204; Paris, 313, 314, 338, 348; opposes J. going with Alençon, II, 5.
- Gelu, Jacques, *see* Archbishop of Embrun.
- Gerson, John; calls J. "sister of Deborah and Judith," I, 188-89; 345.
- Gevaudan, shepherd boy of; II, 53-54.
- de Giac; I, 80, 216.
- Gien, city; I, 63; J. passes through, 64; 136, 198, 202 (note); 240; J. arrives at, 241; 243, 244, 245; start for Reims from, 246, 248; 254; II, 3-5.
- de Giresme, Nicole, Orleans; I, 137, 174.
- Glasdale, William, English commander at Orleans; I, J. urges him to surrender, 145; insults J., 146; at Tourelles, 169, 173; death of, 174; 175, 190-91, 208, 244, "Clasdas," 337, 345, II, 321.
- Godfathers to J., II, 340.
- Godmothers to J., I, 3, 8; II, 104, 340.
- "Godon," French name for English soldiers; I, 168; origin of, 344; II, 92.
- Granier, Pierre, *see* de Bourlemont.
- Granville, Bastard of; insults J., I, 341.
- Grasset, freebooter, commander at La Charité; II, 14.
- Graville, Lord of; brings Sacred Ampoule, I, 266-67.
- Gray, John, guard to Joan; II, 105, 144, 250.
- Greux, village (Domremy); I, 5, 11, 14; church at, 29; today, 55-6; freed from tax, 271-73.
- de Grouchet, Richard, assessor; says notaries faithful, II, 107; out of sympathy with trial, 153; joins in report, 244; "struck with fear," 245; voted for conviction, 297; 319; "many timid," 339.
- du Guesclin, Bertrand, I, 92, 201; 350.
- Guienne; herald to Joan, I, 159, 179, 340-41; province of, II, 317, 323.
- Guillaume de Nangis, chronicler; records date of J's arrival in Chinon, I, 334.
- Guillemette, Gérard, saw J. pass through Greux, I, 31.
- H
- Hale, Nathan, II, 267.
- de Harcourt, Christopher, at Loches, I, 196.
- "Harlot of the Armagnacs"; I, 159.
- Hauviette, J's friend, Domremy; I, 9; testifies, 31.
- Henry II, of England; I, 91.
- Henry IV, of England; I, 74.
- Henry V, of England; compact with Burgundy, Agincourt, I, 75; Treaty of Troyes, 77; marriage with Catherine of France, and death, 78; 219, 259, 275.
- Henry VI, of England; "infant heir," I, 78; 217; "little son," 259; 293, 305; II, 59, 63; offers to buy J., 67; 70-71; 76; may have seen J., 92; 340.
- "Herrings, Battle of," (Rouvray); I, 44, 45, 46, 82, 222, 226, 305.
- (La) Hire (Étienne de Vignolles); I, 129, prayer of, 131; 132; signature, 133; 138; enters Orleans with J., 141; 146; confesses, 147; 160; crosses Loire with J., 161, 162; they charge enemy, 163; 178, 198, 206; at Jargeau, 209; 215, 216, 220; Patay, 227; 229; 231, 304; II, 22, 56, 263, 299, 314, 323.
- de Honecourt, Jean, servant of de Poulengy; I, 60.
- Hôtel de la Rose, *see* Rabateau.
- de Houpeville, Nicolas; angers Cauchon, II, 115-117, 139; 342.
- "House of Tristan," Tours; home of Jean du Puy (?), I, 128.
- Huré, Widow, Orleans; testifies, I, 151.
- Hussites; I, 288; letter to, II, 335.
- I
- l'Ile, Domremy (island), I, 14, 19; II, 124.
- d'Illiers, Florent, Captain, Château-dun; I, 152, 340, 349.
- "Illusion," *see* "Sign."



Inquisition; Vicar-general of writes Burgundy and Luxemburg, II, 64; invoked by Cauchon, 99; spies recognized by, 208.

Isabeau of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI; I, 19; ally of King's brother, 71, 72; makes Treaty of Troyes, 77; declares Charles VII illegitimate, 78.

Isabellette, of Domremy; testifies, I, 11, 12, 27, 31.

Isambard (de la Pierre); his opinion of Cauchon, II, 88; 191, 211, 212; warns J., 217, 221-22; 243, 262; votes to admonish J., 267; visits J., 285; saw J. after relapse, 287; tells Cauchon's joy, 294; votes for conviction, 298; at the stake, 304, 305; afterwards, 312-13; at Revision, 319; 347; 348.

J

Janville (Yinville), I, 154; Fastolf at, 217.

Jargeau, town; taken by English, I, 29; Dunois attacks, 195, 197; 198; 200; assault and capture of, 207-11, 213; landmarks, 234; 304, 323; II, 16; J. testifies of, 138, 158, 162; 334.

Jeanne, godmother to J., *see* Aubery, Maire, wife of.

Joan of Arc; birth, Domremy, I, 3; family, 4-8; playmates, 9-10; Fairy Tree, 11-14; *Bois Chenu*, 15; religious childhood, 5, 8, 16-17; Dauphin her hero, 19; the Voices, 20-23; girlhood, 24-5; father threatens, 26; prophecy, 26; appearance, 27; goes to Neufchâteau, 28; told to go to de Baudricourt, 29; goes with Laxart, 31-2; Vaucouleurs, 33-4; suit for marriage, 37; first start, Chinon, 38-9; meets de Metz, 40; Toul, 41; off for Chinon, 44-8; St. Urbain, 59; Auxerre, 62; Gien, 64; Fierbois, 65-6; Chinon, 67; meets King, 84-8; secret, 89-90; Coudray, 91; Alençon, 92-3; first examined, 94; her "year," 94-5; to St. Florent, 96-7; knew King and people, 99; to Poitiers, 100-2; promises

"sign"; 103, 109; writes to English, 107-8; accepted as *Chef de Guerre*, 109-12; d'Aulon, 117; Tours, 119; military household, 120; her brothers, 121; her armour, 124; sword, 125; banner, 126-27; to Blois, 129; begins reforms, 131-32; start for Orleans, 133-35; arrival Dunois, 137-38; enters Orleans, 142-43; summons to English, 144-46; "visits" English, 148; more reform, 151; rides to battle, 155; sorrow for slain, 157; third summons, English, 159; council of war, 160-61; Augustines, 162-64; prophecies wound, 166-67; Tourelles, 168-70; wounded, 171; victory, 173-75; "sign" complete, 176-77; called "angel," 189; meets King, Tours, 192; adoration of, 193; Loches, 193-98; armorial bearings, 199-200; at Selles, 202; described by de Laval, 203; Jargeau, 207-11; a present from Duke of Orleans, 212; Meung, 213; Beaugency, 213; Richemont, 214-16; declines battle, 222; prophecies King's greatest victory, 224; Patay, 225-28; characteristics and appearance, 232-34; Orleans, 239-40; urges King, 241; reconciles King to Constable, 242; writes Tournai and Burgundy, 244-45; camp in field, 245-46; off for Reims, 247; Auxerre, 248-49; Troyes, 250-60; way to Reims, 261; meets old friends at Chalons—fears treachery, 262; Reims, 264; coronation, 265-71; grant of free taxes from King, 271-72; letter to Burgundy, 283-84; urges Charles to Paris, 288; wasted days, 289; Provins, 290; letter to Reims, 295-96; weariness, 298-99; at Montépilloy, 301-304; to Paris, 306; letter to Armagnac on popes, 307; at St. Denis and la Chapelle, 308-10; attack on Paris, wounded, 312-19; altar of St. Denis, 322, 323; "Joan Apocrypha," 352-55; adoration of, 362-63; returns to Loire, II, 3; parts with Alençon, 5; at Bourges, 7-8; captures St.

- Pierre, 9-10; letter to Riom, 11-13; fails at La Charité, 14; Catherine de la Rochelle, 16; ennobled, 17; asks favour from Tours, 18-19; feasted at Orleans, 20; letters to Reims, 22-25; leaves Sully, 29-30; Lagny (Franquet), 31-2; miracle of dead child, 32-3; warning at Melun, 34-5; Pont l'Evêque, 37-8; Soissons, 38; Compiègne and capture, 39-45; prisoner at Clairvoix, 51; at Beaulieu, 51-2, 60; at Beaurevoir, 61, 62, 69; leaps from tower, 70; sold to England, 71; taken to Crotoy, 73-5; to Rouen, 78-9; examined for chastity, 87; prison life, 88; her chains, 89; visitors, 90-93; brought to trial, 101-105; denied counsel, 101; testifies of Voices, 110-11; of Vaucouleurs, 111; of Chinon, 113; her illusion, 114 (*see also* 150, 174, 184, 233, 256, 261); "state of grace," 122-23; testifies of Domremy, 123-26; of Voices, 128-33; of sword, 134-35; of banner, 136-37; of popes, 142-43; of her letters, 143; prophecies Paris and Formigny, 143-44; tells of Voices, 144-46; prophecies her "delivery," 147 (*also* 194); Voices, 148, 153-54; dress, 157 (*see also* "Dress"); the poor "came to her gladly," 159-60; tells of Reims, 161; of her leap, 164-65 (*also* 191-92); of warning, 172; of capture, 173; of Voices, 180-81; of Paris, 190; of Franquet, 196; Church explained to her, 200, 213; attacked by guards, 202, 287; tells of her banner, 218-19; "Take me to the Pope," 220; "It had borne the burden," etc., 224; Seventy Articles, 229-35; sick unto death, 237-39; visit from judges, 246-50; admonished, 251-58 (*also* 269-72); torture chamber, 259-62; abjuration, 275-86; relapses, 287-94; burned, 299-306; canonized, 326-27, 353; part of service for, 353-54. *See also* Itinerary of, 355-57.
- John the Fearless; murders Louis of Orleans, I, 72; pardoned, 73; 74, 76; murdered, 77; 293, 345; II, 219.
- Judges, Joan's; list of, II, 96-98.
- K
- Kennedy (Canède or Quennede), Scotch Captain; I, 160; II, 31.
- "King's Evil;" I, 287; 363.
- L
- Ladies' Lodge, *see* Tree.
- Ladvenu, Martin, tells injustice to J., II, 140; counsels J., 217; in danger, 220; voted to admonish J., 267; at abjuration, 279; saw J. after relapse, 287; saw Cauchon's joy, 294; voted J's conviction, 298; announces sentence to J., 300; administers communion, 301; accompanies J. to stake, 302, 304; tells J's last affirmation, 305; suppl. report, 311; sought by executioner, 312; at Revision, 319; 351.
- de Lafontaine, Jean, chief examiner; appointed, II, 94; 116, 140; questions J., 178-83; 212; counsels J., 217; angers Cauchon, 220; leaves Rouen, 285; 345, 348.
- Lactare Jérusalem*; I, 9, 10.
- Lagny-le-Sec; I, 300, 326.
- Lagny-sur-Marne; II, 3; J. goes to, 29, 30; battle near, 31; miracle of, 32-3; J. testifies of, 136, 162, 196; 336.
- Lancaster, John of, *see* Bedford.
- Lang, Andrew, quoted, II, 53-4.
- Laon, I, 287, 288.
- de Laval, Guy, and family of; I, 201; letter of Guy and André, 201-206; 213, 214, 233, 246; at coronation, 268; Jeanne, 350; Guy, 358.
- Laxart, Durand, "Uncle" of J.; I, 30; with J. to Vaucouleurs, 31-33; starts with J., 38; to Toul, 41; provides horse, 47; 56, 68, 262, 362; II, 79, 299; France in his debt, 323.
- Lefèvre, Jean, chronicler; tells of Pont l'Evêque, II, 37; 337.
- Lefèvre, Bishop Jean, assessor; II, 122, 140; tells of hard examina-

- tions, 149, 152; 267; votes for conviction, 297; 342.
- Lefort, Dr. Mary Louise, I, 364.
- Lemaître, Jean, Vice-inquisitor of Rouen, co-judge with Cauchon; II, 99, 107, 140; takes part in trial, 184; 191, 202, 212; intervenes for assessors, 220, 293, 345.
- Letters; I, Baudricourt to King, 45; J. to King, 65; from Bruges, 95; J. to English, (quoted) 107-108; J. to English, (quoted) 159; of Lord Rotslaer, (quoted) 166-67; Guy and André de Laval to Madame de Laval, (quoted) 201-206; J. to Tournai, (quoted) 244; to Duke of Burgundy, 245; to Troyes, (quoted) 250; King, to Troyes, 252; Archbishop of Reims, to Reims, 260; gentlemen of Anjou to Queens Marie and Yolande, (quoted) 266-69; J. to Burgundy, (quoted) 283-84; Bedford to Charles VII, extract, 293-94; J. to Reims, (quoted) 295-96; to Count of Armagnac, (quoted) 307; King to Narbonne, (quoted) 346-48; Perceval Boulainvilliers to Duke of Milan, (quoted) 352-58; Alain Chartier to Prince (?), (quoted) 362-63; II, J. to Troyes, 5; J. to Riom, (quoted) 12-13; J. to Reims, (two, quoted) 22-25; Burgundy to St. Quentin, 58-9, (quoted in part); U. of Paris to Burgundy and Luxemburg (summaries of), 64-66; Cauchon to Luxemburg (summary of), 66-7; U. of Paris to Henry VI, 76; to Cauchon (extracts), 76; Church, Rouen, to Cauchon (extract), 78; Sign, "Jesus, Maria," used by J. on, 143; U. of Paris to English King and Cauchon (extracts), 264; J. (by Pasquerel) to Hussites, 335; Bedford to Henry VI, (quoted) 340.
- de Lenzoles, clerk to Erard; II, 278.
- Leparmentier, Mauger, beadle; II, 165; summoned to torture J., 262.
- Ligny, Count of, *see* John of Luxemburg.
- Lisieux, town; Cauchon becomes bishop of, II, 322.
- Loches, town; I, 64; 193; J. urges King's coronation, 195-97; Alençon summoned to, 198; de Laval at, 201.
- Lohier, Jean; offends Cauchon, II, 167-69.
- Loire, river and vicinity; I, 18, 29; Gien-on-the, 63; J. crosses, 64; 82, 133; J. marches along, 134; boats ascend, 137; 138; army could not cross, 140; J. and army cross, to make attack, 161-62; broken bridge over, 170; Glasdale drowned in, 174; 176; today, 183-84; 191; campaign of, 198, 207-234; map of, 221; 291, 292, 295; King will return to, 322; II, 8, 26; J. takes leave of, 27.
- Loiseleur, Nicolas, assessor and spy; II, 94, 99, 168, 202; Boisguillaume and others tell story of, 208-11; 235, 243, 253, secret advice of, 257-59; votes for torture, 262; 268, 273; at abjuration, 275-76, 281, 284-85; votes for conviction, 297; struck with remorse, 302; joins in suppl. report, 310; his end, 322; 347; 348, 351.
- Lombart, Jean, at Poitiers, I, 102.
- de Loré, Ambroise, at Blois, I, 130.
- Lorraine, Charles, Duke of; sends for J., I, 38-9; 41-3.
- Louis XI; restores "birthplace," I, 52-3; tomb at Cléry, 188; Dauphin, 202 (note); to marry Marguerite of Scotland, 334; feared by Charles VII, II, 325.
- Louviers, town; captured by La Hire, II, 263; lost by him, 314.
- de Lude, Sire; killed at Jargeau, I, 210.
- Lullier (or Luillier), Jean, testifies, I, 141, 178; to supply cloth for J's garments, 212.
- Luxemburg, John of (Count de Ligny); I, 308; at Compiègne, II, 41-5; takes J. to Clairoux and Beaulieu, 51-2; 57, 58; to Beaurevoir, 61-2; summoned to deliver J., 64-8; sells her to English, 71; visits J. in prison, 91.
- Luxemburg, ladies of, at Beaurevoir; the "four Jeannes," II, 61; urge J. to lay off man's dress, 62; *see* J. depart, 73; 156.

du Lys, name taken by Joan's brothers after ennoblement, *see* d'Arc, Pierre and Jean.

Lussé, of Anjou; letter from Reims, I, 267-69.

## M

(La) Macée, of Poitiers; I, 102.

le Maçon, Robert, Seigneur de Trèves, I, rescues Dauphin, 76; 81; wife of, 117; at Loches, 196; 202, 204; before Troyes, 255-56.

de Macy, Aimond, Knight; at Beau-revoir, II, 62, 69; at Crottoy, 77; visits J. in prison, 91; at abjuration, 282-83.

Male dress, Joan's, *see* Dress.

Maid of France, *see* Joan of Arc.

Manchon, Guillaume, notary and chief recorder; II, 92; appointed, 94; tells of tumult in court, 102-103; tells of J's requests, 104-105; 107; highly respected, 140; tells of de Chatillon, 155; of Stafford, 166; of Lohier, 167; signature, 169; of attack on J., 202; of Loiseleur, 209-11; 217, 220, 222, 225, 255, 258, 272, 274; at abjuration, 275, 278, 279, 281, 283, 284-85; tells of relapse, 292-93; at the stake, 303; refuses to sign suppl. report, 311.

Mandragore; I, 15-16; J. testifies of, II, 148; J. charged with having, 231.

Manuel, Pierre, visits J. in prison, II, 90-91.

Marchenoire, near Blois; I, 245.

Margny, Burgundian Camp; II, 41; J. attacks, 43; landmarks, 46-7; 65.

Marguerite of Scotland; I, 40, 334.

Marie of Anjou, *see* Anjou.

Marie of Avignon; her prophecy, I, 105.

Marne, river; I, 62, 289; II, 3.

Martel, Charles, traditional owner of J's sword; I, 126; 324.

Massieu, Jean, bailiff; appointed, II, 94; commanded to bring J., 100; says J. was denied counsel, 101; forbidden to let J. pray, 127-28; 140; tells of de Chatillon, 155; 211; conducts J. to torture

chamber, 260; to abjuration, 275; tells of abjuration, 279, 280-81, 282, 283, 284; day of execution, 301-303; says J. asked for a cross, 304; 342, 343, 352.

Maurice, Pierre, assessor; II, 168; "must satisfy the English," 170; 238; admonishes J., 270-72; votes for J's conviction, 297; on day of execution, 301; overcome with grief, 303; 347, 348.

Maxey-sur-Meuse, village; I, 14, 19, 55, 56; II, 123; 124.

Mehun-sur-Yèvre, town; II, 7; J. ennobled there, 17-18; landmarks, 27-8.

Melun, town; II, 30; submits to J., 34; J. receives warning there, 34-5; J. testifies of, 172, 190; 336.

Mengette; I, 9; testifies, 10, 31, 36.

Mennetou, town; I, 64.

Merlin; old prophecy attributed to, I, 26.

de Metz, Jean, or Jean de Novelompont; pledges himself to J., I, 39-41; 45, 46; story of J's ride, 59-60; at Chinon, 84; at Poitiers, 106; at Le Puy; 121; 129.

Meung, town; I, 29, 138, 177, 187, 197; march on, 213; 219, 220; English abandon, 222; J. enters, 224; 231; 235.

Meuse, river; I, 3, 14; dwellers along, 18; J. leaves valley of, 49; memories of, 97.

Michelet; I, 332; II, 338, 351.

Midi, Nicolas, assessor; II, 168, 171, 181, 212, 243; exhorts J., 249; sent to U. of Paris, 263-64; preaches to J. on scaffold, 302; preaches to Charles VII entering Paris, 317; is a leper, 321; 324.

Miget, Pierre, testifies of Loiseleur, II, 258.

Milan, Duke of; letter to, I, 352-58.

Milet, Colette, testifies, I, 157, 344.

Minet, Jean, curé; baptised J., II, 104.

Minier, Pierre, assessor; suggests J's good faith, II, 244.

Monnet, Jean, Clerk to Beupère; at abjuration, II, 281-82.

de Monstrelet, Enguerran, chronicler; I, 253, 292; tells of Monté-



pillory, 301-302; 364, 365; of fight near Lagny, II, 31-2; 41; of J's capture, 44, 51; 336, 337.  
 Montaigne; I, 53.  
 Montargis; I, 248; II, 4, 30.  
 Montépilloy, field of; I, 301-305; 306, 327.  
 Montfaucon, in Berry; II, 162.  
 Montereau, bridge of; I, 76; murder of John the Fearless, 77; 293, 335; II, 30, 316.  
 Montmirail, town; I, 289, 324.  
 Montmorency, Baron of; I, 321.  
 Montrésor, Castle; La Trémouille taken there, II, 316.  
 Moreau, of Anjou, letter to Queens, I, 265-69.  
 Moreau, Jean, witness; sent to Domremy to get evidence against J., II, 87, 339.  
 Morel, Jean, testifies, I, 262.  
 Morel, Aubert, assessor; votes for torture of J., II, 262.  
 Moriau, Widow, of Reims; I, 273, 361.  
 Moulins, town; J. writes from, II, 11, 26.

N

Nancy, city; I, 39; J. rides to, 42.  
 Nangis, town; I, 290, 291, 292.  
 Narbonne, city; King's letter to, I, 192-93; text of letter, 346-48.  
 Neufchâteau, town; I, 28; 42-3; J. testifies of, II, 109; 231-32, 341, 348.  
 Nevers, town; Church of St. Cyr, II, 27.  
 Nogent-sur-Seine, town; I, 248, 291.  
 Nonette, river; I, 301.  
 Normandy; proposed expedition to, I, 241; Bedford marches to, 305; II, 5, 21.  
 Notre Dame, churches of; Lagny, II, 32-3, 162; Melun, 35.  
 Notre Dame, Cathedral, Paris; ceremonies to J., I, 328; Isabelle Romée appears to plead for Revision, II, 319.  
 Notre Dame de la Victoire, village; I, 301.  
 Novyon and Reugles, near Orleans, seat of Louis de Contes; II, 324.  
 Noyon, town; II, 37.

O

Oise, river; II, 37, 38, 41, 45.  
 Old Market, Rouen; J. taken to, II, 302; execution there, 304-306; 320; France's holy ground, 331.  
 O'Hagan, Judge John, I, 335.  
 Orbec, Captain of, I, 301.  
 Orleans, city of; siege of, I, 29, 44; gets news of J., 64; 82; J. promises sign at, 109; 130; supplies for, 136; J. arrives at, 137-40; J. enters, 141-43; J's stay in, 144-51; battles of, 152-75; siege raised, 176-79; modern city, 180-84; museums of, 181-83; gives supplies, 201; J. returns to, 207, 212, 239; expects King, 239; J. leaves, 241; 339; King writes news of, 346-48; entertains J., II, 20; 21; masses for J., 57; J. testifies of, 136; 251, 314; testimony taken there, 319; pensions J's mother and brother, 322-23; 334, 340.  
 Orleans, Bastard of, *see* Dunois.  
 Orleans, Charles, Duke of, I, 73, 75; J. would rescue, 95; gift to J., 212; 270-71; J. testifies of, II, 112, 183; 266; returns from captivity, 323.  
 Orleans, Louis, Duke of, I, 71; murdered, 72; widow of, 73; avenged, 77; château of, 326; 345.  
 de l'Ours, Seigneur; II, 32, 196.

P

Paris, Orleans' murder in, I, 72, 73; famine in, 74; Dauphin flees from, 76; J. writes of, 108; gets news of Orleans, 189; 203; Fastolf's retreat to, 222; J. does not follow to, 231-32; 269; after Reims, 282; Burgundy agrees to surrender, 287; Beaufort's army enters, 289; Bedford leaves, and returns to, 290, 292; J. writes of, 295-96; map of vicinity, 297; J. orders move on, 306; in J's letter, 307; J. starts for, 308; J. has permission to attack, 309; skirmishes at, 310; King to come to, 311; attack on, 312-19; 320, 321; today, 328; II, 8; J. tries to cut off supplies

- from, 33-34; 74, 75; J. testifies of, 190, 196, 216; Charles VII enters, 316-17; testimony taken there, 319; lost by English, 343.
- Partada, Alphonse, I, 163.
- Parthenay, seat of Richemont; I, 239.
- Pasquerel, chaplain to Joan; I, 88, 89; 94; testifies of Le Puy, 120-22; goes to Blois, 129; tells of J's reforms, Blois, 132-33; en route to Orleans, 135; miracle, 138; returns to Blois, 144; to Orleans, 153; tells of J. after St. Loup, 157-58; of J's letter to English, 159; 161; of J's prophecy of her wound, 165-66; of her wound, 171; of Glasdale, 173; of J's sorrow for G., 175; leaves Sully with J., II, 30; 39; letter to Husites, 335.
- Patay, battle ground; I, 217; battle of 225-30; 231, 234, 235, 302, 351-52; anniversary of, II, 61; 289; 314, 324.
- "La Pau," or Paul, *see* du Puy.
- Personnel of trial; II, 96-99.
- Philip Augustus, castle of; II, 79; illus., 82; 83, 127, 330.
- Picardy; towns eager to receive Charles, I, 305; 309; II, 4, 60, 73, 74.
- Pierre of Versailles; at Poitiers, I, 106; idolatry of J., 193-94.
- Pierronne; at Jargeau, II, 16; burned in Paris, 92-3; 242, 268.
- Pigache, Jean, assessor; suggests J's good faith, II, 244; votes for conviction, 297.
- Pinchon, Jean, assessor; votes for conviction, II, 296.
- Poitiers, city; Battle of, I, 71; J's examination at, 100-103; "The soldiers will fight," etc., 103; J's story there, 106; her letter from, 107-108; 110; verdict of, 110-11; "book of," 112; cathedral of, 113; J's stepping block at, 113; II, 115, 130, 155, 256, 267.
- de la Pole, Alexander and John, captains at Jargeau; I, 207; Alexander killed, John captured, 210-11, 244.
- de la Pole, William, *see* Suffolk.
- Pont-l'Evêque, near Noyon; fight at, II, 37-8; 54, 190.
- Pontoise; Charles commands troops at, II, 317.
- Pope; II, 213, 219; J. demands to be taken to, 220-21; 224; (*also* 255); 236; 256, 257; J. refers to, 276-77; approval of J's canonization by Leo XIII, 353.
- Poton, *see* Saintrailles.
- de Poulengy, Bertrand, squire to J.; I, 33-35; with J., 41, 45, 47, 59; en route for Chinon, 60-61, 62; at Poitiers, 106; at Le Puy and Tours, 121; to Blois, 129.
- Poulvoir, Hauves, maker of J's banner; I, 127; daughter, Héliote, 127, 193, II, 18-19, 20.
- Pressey, Lord John; offers J. dress, II, 73, 156.
- Prison, Joan's at Rouen; conditions of, II, 88-90, 93, 202, 273, 287-89.
- Processions for J. in Orleans and Tours; II, 57.
- Prophecies, promises, warnings, etc. uttered by J.; I, 26, 34, 94-5, 103, 103-104, 107-108, 143, 158, 166-67, 220, 224-25, 241, 244, 246, 250, 256, 281; II, 120, 143-44, 147 (two), 194, 213, 304, 314, 346.
- Provins, town; J. and King at, I, 290, 292, 295; 303; landmarks, 325-26.
- du Puy, Eleanore and Jean, of Tours; I, 120, 127-28; 134.
- (Le) Puy, or Le Puy en Velay, city; I, 120-21, 264.

## Q

- de Queville, Nicolas, of Amiens; prisoner with J. at Crottoy, II, 77.
- Quicherat, Jules, I, 89-90, 166, 331, II, 6, 326.

## R

- Rabateau, Jean, J's host at Poitiers; I, 101, 102; wife of, 104-105; house of, 113; II, 20.
- de Rais, Gilles, Marshal; I, 130, 160, 187, 204, 246; at Reims, 266-67; at Paris, 313; II, 56; his end, 324.
- Raymond, page to Joan; at Tours, I, 120, 129.



Recouvrance, Nôtre Dame de, church of Orleans; **I**, 183.  
 Regent of France, *see* Bedford.  
 Regnard gate, Orleans; **I**, 183.  
 Rehabilitation, (or Revision) Process of; **I**, 4, 8; **II**, 318-20; 329; 352.  
 Reims, Archbishop of, *see* de Chartres.  
 Reims, city; **I**, 5, 85, 89; **J**. urges King to come to, 196; 241; invites people of Tournai to, 244, 246; start for, 247; way to, 248-62; **J**'s first sight of, 263; arrival, 264; coronation at, 265-71; landmarks, 277-78; **J**'s letter to Burgundy from, 283; King leaves, 287; letter to, 295-96; 323; **J**'s letters to, **II**, 22-25; 160, 224.  
 René d'Anjou, *see* Anjou.  
 Reuilly, village; **J**. sleeps there, **I**, 339.  
 Revision, *see* Rehabilitation.  
 "*Responsio mortifera*"; **II**, 290-92; *see also* "*Superbe responsum*," etc.  
 Richard the Archer; with **J**. to Chinon, **I**, 41-46, 47, 48, 60.  
 Richard, Brother, *see* Brother Richard.  
 Richault, Gabriel, **II**, 352.  
 Richemont, Arthur of Brittany, Constable of France; estranged from King by La Trémouille, **I**, 80; 204; arrives at Beaugency, 214-16; 219; at Patay, 227, 229, 231, 235, 239, 240; pardon obtained by **J.**, 242; 305; **II**, 22; abducts La Trémouille, 315-16.  
 Riom, town; letter to, **II**, 11-13, 27.  
 Riquier, Jean, testimony of, **II**, 345.  
 de la Rochelle, Catherine; has visions, **II**, 16-17; **J**. testifies of, 162-64, 175; testimony against **J.**, 234.  
 Rogier, Jean, chronicler; **I**, 250, 360-61; **II**, 335, 337.  
 Romée, Isabelle, mother of Joan; **I**, 3, 4, 6, 8, 25, 37; pilgrimage to Le Puy, 120-21; 264; 299; ennobled, **II**, 17; 103, 319; later fortunes, 322.  
 Romorantin, army assembles at, **I**, 198, 203, 207.

de Rotslaer, Lord, letter of, telling **J**'s prophecy of her wound, **I**, 166-67.  
 Rouen, city; **J**'s testimony there, **I**, 166; Bedford's fears concerning, 308; place for trial, **II**, 75, 77; **J**. reaches, 79; château of, 82-3; **J**'s prison at, 88-93; **J**'s trial begins at, 100-106; continues at, 108-225; abjuration at, 275-85; execution at, 302-306; Rehabilitation ends at, 319-20; landmarks, 328-31; 338.  
 Rouen, Cathedral of; **II**, 79, 328, 329.  
 Rouen, Archbishop's palace; judges assemble in chapel of, **II**, 267-68; **J**. sentenced in, 295-98; Rehabilitation concluded in, 319-20; landmarks, 329.  
 "la Rousse," of Neufchâteau; inn of, **I**, 28, 50; **J**. testifies of, **II**, 109; 232.  
 Roussel, Raoul, assessor, **II**, 262.  
 Rousselat, Mlle., founds hospice, **I**, 363.  
 Rouvray, *see* Battle of the Herrings.  
 Royer, Henry and Catherine, hosts of **J**. at Vaucouleurs; **I**, 38, 44; visit of de Baudricourt to, 46; 48; house of, 57.  
*Ruisseau des Trois Fontaines*, *see* Brook of the Three Sources.

S

Saintrailles, Poton, **I**, 160, 195; at Beaugency, 220; at Patay, 227; start for Reims, 246; tower where confined, **II**, illus., facing, 79; at Choisy, **II**, 36-7; 57; relieves Compiègne, 71; signature, 72; 263, 299; captured, 314, 338.  
 Sala, Pierre, on King's secret, **I**, 89.  
 le Sauvage, Raoul, assessor; **II**, 244; suggests public admonition for **J.**, 269.  
 Scales, Thomas, son of Warwick; mentioned in **J**'s letter, **I**, 107; captured at Patay, 230, 244.  
 Séz, Bishop of, at Reims, **I**, 268.  
 Seguin, Brother, testifies of **J**. at Poitiers, **I**, 101-04.  
 Seine, river; **I**, 62; murder of John the Fearless, on, 76; army turns

- back from, 291; bridge built by Alençon at Paris, 321, 322; II, 3, 222; receives J's ashes, 306, 313, 331; 348.
- Selles-sur-Cher, town; I, 64, 201; J. at, 202, 203; 206; II, 7.
- Senlis, town; I, 300, 301; makes submission, 304, 308; King reaches, 310; landmarks, 327; bailiff of, II, 32; J. at, 33; bishop of, 161, 196-97.
- Sens, town; army fords Yonne at, II, 3-4.
- Sept-Saulx, village; I, 263; today, 277.
- "Seventy Articles"; II, 226-235; 310.
- Sicily, Queen of, *see* Yolande.
- "Sign," shown by J. to King at Chinon; II, 113, 174-76, 184-89, 233, 256, 261.
- Soissons, city; I, 289; landmarks, 324.
- Solonge, country below the Loire; army leaves Blois by, I, 133; 184, 198, 348.
- Somme, river; II, 74, 77, 79.
- Sorel, Agnes, poisoned, II, 353.
- Stafford, Earl of; tries to stab J., II, 91-3; 166.
- Suffolk, Lord; I, 106, 107; commands at Jargeau, 207, 208, 209, 210; captured, 210-11; 244.
- Sully-sur-Loire; I, 239-40; château of, II, 18; J's letters from, 22-25; 27; J. leaves, 29, 336.
- "*Superbe responsum*," II, 121; "*Superba responsio*," 255; "*Johannae responsio superba*," 272.
- Swine Market (near Porte St. Honoré); I, 313, 315 (picture;) 317-18.
- St.
- St. Aignan, town; I, 64; church of, Tours, 147, 181; Isle of, Tours, 174; King's château at, 202.
- St. Aubin, G., with J. at Lagny, II, 31.
- St. Augustines, *see* Augustines.
- St. Ayoul, church, Provins; I, 325.
- St. Benoit, town and pilgrimage church; J. meets King at, I, 240.
- Saint Catherine, the saint; coming of, I, 22; martyr, 23; at Fierbois, 65; J. regarded as, 112; 126; J. commanded by, as to banner, 127; revelation from (wound), 166; J. comforted by, 171, 175; II, 70-71, 137, 183, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 223, 352. *See also* "Voices."
- St. Catherine de Fierbois, shrine; I, 64-67; sword from, 125-26; 201, 203; II, 112, 134, 216, 233.
- Saint Charlemagne, the saint; named by J. at Orleans, I, 137.
- St. Christophe, church, Neufchâteau; I, 49-50.
- St. Croix, Cathedral of Orleans; I, 148, 181; celebration in, 181.
- Saint Denis, the saint; I, 323; II, 179, 216.
- St. Denis, town; I, 265; J. goes to, 308, 309; skirmishes near, 310; King comes to, 311; 314; J. returns to, 321; J. leaves armour at church of, 322-23; church today, 328; II, 3; town of, 114, 135, 136, 160.
- St. Eloi, church, Orleans; alleged head of J. from, I, 182.
- St. Euverte, church, Orleans; I, 181.
- St. Florent-les-Saumur, village; I, 92; J. visits Alençons at, 96-7.
- St. Florentin, town; army at, I, 249; today, 274; 359.
- Saint Gabriel, the saint; II, 144, 154, 261.
- St. Gatien, cathedral, at Tours; I, 128.
- St. George, fortress of, Chinon; I, 91.
- Saint George, the saint, I, 218; head of, alleged to be J., 182.
- St. Jacques, church, Compiègne; II, 46, 52.
- St. Jean, church, at Châlons; I, 276; at Troyes, 259, 275.
- St. Jean des Vignes, church, Soissons; ruined by war, I, 324.
- St. Jean (or John) le Blanc, English stronghold at Orleans; I, 135, 136, 150, 161-62.
- St. Loup, English stronghold; I, 136, 137, 139; convoy passes, 141; 150; capture of, 155-57; 159; 347.
- Saint Louis, the saint, named by J., I, 137; pilgrim to Cléry, 188.
- St. Marcoul, village and abbey; I, 287, 288, 363.

Saint Margaret, the saint; coming of, I, 22, martyr, 23; J. commanded by, as to banner, 127; revelation from (wound), 166; II, 145, 163. *See also* "Voices."

Saint Michael, the saint; coming of, I, 20-21; II, 112; comfort from, 130, 131, 144; appearance of, 148-49, 153, 154, 157, 180, 185; J. accompanied by, 188-89; 203, 205-206; form of, 212, 218, 265; 344, 352. *See also* "Voices."

St. Martin, church, Tours; landmarks, I, 128.

St. Nicolas, chapel, Neufchâteau; I, 49.

St. Nicolas, village, near Vaucouleurs; J. goes to, I, 39.

St. Nicolas-du-Port, near Nancy; J. goes to, I, 42.

St. Ouen, Church of Rouen; II, 79, 83, scene of abjuration, 275-83; 289, 292, 295, 320, 328, 329.

St. Pierre le Moutier, town; II, 8; assault and capture of, 9-12; 14; landmarks, 26; 44.

St. Phal, village; camp, I, 249; letter from, 250; 251, 252; today, 274-75, 276.

St. Quentin, town; ready to surrender, I, 305; Burgundy writes to, II, 58.

St. Quiriace, church, Provins; J. and King hear mass in, I, 290, 325.

St. Remy, church, Domremy, I, 5, 29; today, 50; picture of, 53; relics in, 54.

St. Remy, church and abbey, Reims; I, 265, 270.

St. Saviour, church of, Rouen; II, 302, 331.

St. Severe, Marshal, *see* de Boussac.

St. Urbain, abbey; I, 58; J. sleeps there, 59, 61; II, 111.

St. Valéry, town; J. lands at, II, 79.

St. Vincent, church, Senlis; inscription, I, 327.

T

Talbot, John, English commander; J's letter to, I, 107; 137; warnings to, 144-45, 153, 170; policy of, 176; 191, 215, 217, 218; at Patay, 226-27; prisoner, 229-30; 235, 244, 357; II, 61.

Talbot, William, guard of Joan; II, 105.

Taquel, Nicolas, assistant recorder; II, 95, 191; signature, 198; 237 (note), 339, 350.

Tanneguy du Châtel; rescues Dauphin, I, 76; slays John the Fearless, 77.

de Termes, Thibault, I, 160; at Beaugency, 220; Patay, 229; 233, 351.

Therouenne, Bishop of, I, 329; visits J. in prison, II, 91.

Thibault, Gobert, at Poitiers, I, 105.

Thiesselin, family of, Domremy; I, 52, 54, 332.

Thomassin, Mathieu, II, 314.

de (or du) Tilloy, Jamet ("Bourgeois"); I, 160, 246.

Tiphaine, Jean (medic.), attends J. in sickness, I, 237-38; votes for her conviction, 297, 349.

Torture, Joan menaced with; II, 259-62; voted on, 262.

Toul, town; I, 37; J's summons to, 39; 41, 43; J. testifies of it, II, 179; 232.

de Touraine, Jacques, assessor; II, 166, 168; sent to U. of Paris, 263-64.

Tour Neuve, Orleans; I, 161, 180.

Tour Blanche, Orleans; I, 180.

Tourelles, the, Orleans; I, 145, 146, 147, 150, 164, 165; assault on, 169-72; capture of, 173-76; site of, 181, 183; 191; 304, 323.

Tournai, town, Belgium; J's letter to, I, 244.

la Touroulde, Margaret, J's host at Bourges; testifies, II, 7-8.

Tours, city; I, 117; J. at, 119-128; meets King at, 192-93; 323; news brought to, 346; J's request of, II, 18-20; 134.

Toutmouillé, Jean, assessor; testifies of J's last morning, II, 300; 311, 351.

Tower of Cæsar, Provins; I, 325.

Transcripts of trial minutes; II, 107 (note).

Treaties with Burgundy; first, I, 287; second, 305, 310; extended, II, 24; third, 316 (Treaty of Arras).

- Tree, the Fairy, Domremy; I, 9-15, 17, 33; site of, 54-5; 299; II, 95; J. tells of, 124-26; 231; 240, 299.
- de La Trémouille, Georges, Chief Counsellor to Charles VII; I, 79; undermines Richemont, 80; 86, 93, 94; goes to Poitiers, 100-101, 110; 130, 202, 204, 214, 216; King at château of, 239; opposes reconciliation with Richemont, 242; attitude toward coronation, 242-43; 246; bribed at Auxerre, 248-49; at coronation, 268; treats with Burgundy, 282, 285, 289, 296, 298; at Montépilloy, 303; new deception, 308; against capture of Paris, 320-23; 359; opposed to J. going with Alençon, II, 5; sends J. to St. Pierre le Moutier, 8; his greed, 14-15; 24, 29; appointed de Flavy; 53; 175, 188, 197, 256, 261; kidnapped, 315-16.
- Trèves, *see* le Maçon.
- Troyes, city; treaty of, I, 77, 216, 259; 249; J's letter to, 250; army before, 251-52; Brother Richard at, 253; council before, 254-57; surrender of, 257-59; army leaves, 260; II, 5, 158, 160.
- Tuckey, Janet, quoted, II, 55.
- Turquetil, Eustache, priest; asks news of J., II, 139.
- Twain, Mark, I, Foreword; his hero, 336; 361; quoted, 263-64; II, 224, note; 324.
- "Twelve Articles;" II, 240-41; sent to U. of Paris, 263; report on, 265-67; read to J., 270.
- U
- University of Paris; absolves John the Fearless, I, 73; 102, 341, 345; request for J., II, 64-66; 76, 88, 155; lawyers of Rouen refer to, 244; reports on Twelve Articles, 263-68.
- V
- Vailly, town; J. and King there, I, 288.
- Valois, royal family of France; England's claim on throne of, I, 71; Scotland's loyalty to, 78.
- Valois, Charles of, *see* Charles VII.
- Vaucouleurs, town; I, 14, 18, 28; J. goes to, 33-36; 38, 39; Jean de Metz at, 40, 41, 42, 43; receives news of "Herrings," 45; J. leaves, 47-48; distance from Chinon, 68; 102, 262; 339; J. testifies of, II, 111, 112, 134, 156, 299; Jean d'Arc (du Lys) becomes captain of, 323, 341.
- Venderès, Nicolas, Archbishop of Eu; votes for J's conviction, II, 296; 351.
- Vendôme, Count of, at Chinon, I, 81; presents J., 87; 203, 206; to Reims, 246; at Troyes, 254; at coronation, 268; at Bray, 291; at Montépilloy, 301; left at St. Denis, 328; 347; II, 5, 21, 38-9, 57; relieves Compiègne, 71.
- Venette, village near Compiègne; English camp, II, 41, 43-4.
- de Vergy, Antoine, raids Domremy, I, 28, 29, 50.
- Verneuil, Battle of; I, 20, 78, 79; Alençon made prisoner at, 92; 201, 327, 335.
- Vesle, river; Sept-Saulx on, I, 263, 277.
- Vienne, river; Chinon on, I, 82.
- de Vignolles, Étienne, *see* La Hire.
- Villars, Lord of (or de Villars), I, 160; seneschal of Beaucaire, 162.
- Vincennes, Bedford retires to woods of, I, 189.
- Virginity of the Maid, I, 117; II, 87.
- de Viriville, Vallet, *see* Appendix, I, 331.
- Violence offered Joan; by Earl of Stafford, II, 91; by her guards, 202, 287; by an English lord, 287.
- Voices; I, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26; told her to go to de Baudricourt, 29, 30; identified him to J., 33; 53, 55; on way to Chinon, 62; 65; identified King to J., 68; 88; 93, 99, 101; J. tells of, at Poitiers, 102; tell J. of sword, 125; banner, 127, 136, 140, 155; warn her of wound, 166, 171; J. tells of, at Loches, 196-97, 233, 243, 299, 307; did not order attack on Paris, 312, 320; told J. to remain at St. Denis, 322; 335; II, 16;

warn J. of capture, 34-5; 39; forbid J. to jump, 70; comfort her, 71; in prison, 90; 93; J. testifies of, 110, and throughout examination, to, 223 (Voices and saints being in most cases identical); do not command J. to submit to Church, 236; J. asks them if she will be burned, 261 (*see also* 194); pity J. for her sin, 289; J's faith in them, 290, (to the last), 305.

Vouthon, birthplace of Joan's mother; I, 6.

## W

Wallon, H., author of "Jeanne d'Arc"; fac-similes from, I, 166, 190, 199, 266; II, 13, 23, 40, 68, 72, 75, 82, 89, 169, 198, 245, 291.

Wandonne, Bastard of, captor of J., II, 45; his reward, 67.

Warwick, Earl of; son a prisoner, I, 230; chief jailer of J., II, 88; 90; brings visitors, 91-2; 117; J. calls on him for help, 202; sets spies on J., 208-10; threatens

Isambard, 222; says J. must die by fire, 238-39, 247, 272; 284; 292, 293; told to be "of good cheer," 294; 302, 348.

Waterin, Jean, playmate of J.; I, 17; saw her pass through Greux, 31.

du Wavrin, Jean, Seigneur du Forestel, chronicler; I, 217, 220, 222; tells of Patay, 225-28; 351, 352.

Winchester, Bishop of, *see* Beaufort.

Windecken, Eberhardt, chronicler; I, 192, 195, 198.

World War; I, 67, 275, 277, 324, 363-64; II, 80; our heroes of, 327; 330, 336.

## Y

Yonne, river; Auxerre on, I, 62; Montereau, 76, 335; army fords at Sens, II, 3.

Yolande of Aragon, Queen of Sicily, Duchess of Tours; at Chinon, I, 81, 86, 100; at Tours, 117, 119; at Blois, 119, 130, 160; letter to, 265-68, 282; II, 299; aids in La Trémouille's abduction (?), 315.









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